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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

(164)

FEBRUARY, 1949

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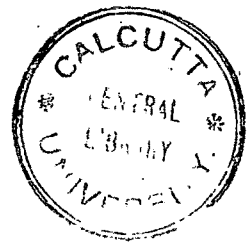

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1949

HEMP DRUG ADDICTION AND MORAL DAMAGE *

H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.
Vice-President, Constituent Assembly of India

(III)

IT has been stated elsewhere that the consumption of hemp drugs has gradually been given up by all except the poor who probably take to their use, especially in the form of ganja or charas, mainly because they find alcoholic beverages too expensive.

Indulgence especially in ganja and charas as in other stimulants and narcotics, has the effect of making the addict lazy, so that he is able to earn less than what he did before the habit was started. In other cases, he becomes even incapable of work. But this does not necessarily mean that he gives up or reduces the consumption of his favourite drug. What happens when he is a cultivator with a home of his own was described by Dr. Morrison, M.B. C.M., M.D. (Glasgow), who has worked as a medical missionary for fifteen years in rural areas in northern Bengal, in the following terms:—

"The (ganja) smoker who uses the drug to excess will ruin his home by selling off his goats, cows, and effects rather than do without it."

Mr. Mckay, Member of the Board of Revenue of the old North-Western Provinces where all the three hemp drugs were, and still are, extensively used, described in his review of the 1891 Excise Report of that part of India what took place after an addict had sold off all his possessions. He said,

* The present contribution is a chapter of *Our Hemp Drug Problem* to be published in the near future by the Book House, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

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"Once an individual becomes an addict, he would reduce his food sooner than go without his accustomed stimulant."

Hemp Drug and Moral Deterioration

The time comes when his means do not permit him to pay for even the small amount of food or for the drug he consumes an irresistible craving for which makes him lose the last shreds of self-respect so that he starts by borrowing and then begging from relatives, friends acquaintances and even strangers telling them all kinds of harrowing stories to account for his poverty.

This source dries up when it becomes widely known that he had, after wasting all his means and depriving his dependents of what he legitimately owes them, sunk to the level of a beggar. It is then that, in many cases, he has recourse to petty thefts. Mr. C. Fasson, Deputy Superintendent of Police, Bogra, North Bengal, attributes them:

"To the additional expenditure incurred in obtaining the nourishing food which is a necessity to a ganja-smoker and which impels him to theft, etc."

This is not, however, the whole explanation for when addiction has proceeded far enough, the person is ready to go without any food at all, provided he is not deprived of his favourite poison. It is the want of the latter that is responsible for most cases of petty stealing by hemp drug addicts. This was referred to by Mr. Abdus Samad, Deputy Magistrate, who had worked for years in the Excise Department of the old Bengal Presidency. He said,

"Petty thefts are often committed by people given to ganja smoking but having no means of satisfying the craving."

The same opinion was repeated by Mr. R. S. Bruere, District Superintendent of Police, Punjab, who stated:

"Moderate consumers when they are in poor circumstances, are inclined to commit petty crimes in cities and towns, to obtain money to purchase these drugs (bhang and charas)."

Hemp Drugs and Unpremeditated Crimes

Nearly all the officials especially those belonging to the Excise Department examined by the Hemp Drugs Commission expressed the view that the habitual consumption of the particular variety of hemp drug in popular use in the area with which they were most familiar, makes the addict irritable, prone to take offence where

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none is meant, quarrelsome and headstrong, if not reckless. It was also stated that, under the impulse of passions roused to fury by the use of these drugs, the consumer owing to his state of intoxication is not always responsible for his actions. This explains the many unpremeditated crimes of violence committed by hemp drug addicts on the slightest, or even in the absence of, any provocation whatsoever.

Among the many instances referred to by the witnesses, the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following picked out at random from the mass of evidence collected in four large closely printed volumes of the report of the Commission.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the fact that Sind is notorious for its large consumption of bhang and charas. As for the connection between the first of these, regarded as the least potent of the hemp drugs, and crimes of violence, we find Mr. C. E. S. Stafford Steels, Deputy Commissioner, telling the Hemp Drugs Commission that those who indulge in bhang are easily provoked and become excessively irritable." Continuing, he stated that serious crimes are committed not only by ganja and charas smokers but also by habitual users of bhang.

Among the many cases cited by the witnesses, reference will be made to the one mentioned by Behram Khan, Zemindar and Honorary Magistrate, Punjab, who said:

"Two years ago a person of the Khosa tribe, while under the influence of bhang murdered one of his tribesmen."

Mr. R. L. Ward, District Superintendent of Police, in old Bengal, referred to a case where a ganja smoker murdered a vendor because he would not supply him with ganja without being paid for it. That addicts are prone to commit even murder on little or no provocation was proved by certain cases cited by Mr. J. D. Anderson, Commissioner of Excise, Assam. In these, the excessive consumption of ganja by tea garden coolies was held responsible for insensate, and quite unfounded jealousy resulting in crimes of violence. This was underlined by a European tea planter, Mr. F. C. Moran, who referred to the case of a man in his garden who "cut off his wife's head whilst temporarily insane under the effects of the drug (ganja)."

The mania produced by excessive consumption of ganja makes no difference even where the victim is a friend or a relative a fact referred to by Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyay, Dr. Crombie, Dr. T. N. Naik and Dr. T. R. Sathe.

The first of these mentioned a case where such a person "killed a friend of his with a lathi without any apparent cause for such action."

Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel A. Crombie, M.D., I.M.S., Superintendent of the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta, who, in addition to the work generally done by the officers of the cadre to which he belonged, had been in charge of two jails and of the Dacca Lunatic Asylum for seven years, in the evidence he gave on the 25th November, 1893, before the Royal Commission on Opium, stated,

"I know the case of a young Bengali who indulged in a single debauch with ganja. He went round the house at night and slew seven of his own relatives in their beds."

The cases just mentioned happened in Bengal. The same kind of thing also happens in Orissa, the people of which are generally regarded as even more peace-loving than the Bengali, a matter referred to by Dr. L. N. Naik, a licentiate of the Government Medical School, Cuttack, who had been practising ten years or so when he appeared before the Hemp Drugs Commission. He said,

"A man in the habit of smoking ganja murdered his mother just after smoking, and afterwards, when the reaction set in, looking at the stream of blood flowing from his wounded mother, went to murder the man by whom he was introduced to the habit of smoking ganja."

The second case was one mentioned by Dr. T. R. Sathe, Diwan of the Sonepur State, who said,

"Recently I saw a case of a man who went (temporarily) mad owing to excessive ganja-smoking and in that state of his mind he killed his own uncle who had remained to watch him. There was no ill-feeling between them."

That the smoking of charas gives rise to similar unpremeditated crimes was proved by what was said by Mr. W. R. Patridge, I.C.S., who had served in various executive posts in the old North-Western Provinces in the western areas of which this drug is more widely used than ganja. He mentioned,

"A fakir who consumed charas in considerable quantities and who took a boy and deliberately chopped off his head. When kept out of the way of any hemp drugs this man seemed to behave fairly like a rational being, but whenever he got charas, he got violent and dangerous."

Mr. P. H. Dastur, Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, told the Commission how even members of communities well-known for their inoffensive habits and their respect for law grow violent under the influence of charas. He said,

"I had lately a case before me in which a Marwari goldsmith under the influence of charas, attacked a bailiff with a pair of tongs and behaved very excitedly in court.".

After a consideration of the facts set forth above one is forced to agree with Mr. E. Rodgers, Assistant Commissioner of the old North-Western Provinces who, after long and wide experience in the Excise Department, came to the conclusion that so far as the committing of violent crimes is concerned, there is not much to choose between the three varieties of the hemp drugs. In that connection he said,

"Intoxication from these drugs.....raises a man to a high pitch of excitement ; at times leads him to commit violent crimes that he would shrink from committing in his saner moments."

One particular type of unpremeditated crime, far less common than those involving violence but which should not be omitted in any indictment of the hemp drugs, consists of those of a sexual character. Surgeon-Major Macdonald, Civil Surgeon, Bengal, was the first to refer to them and that in very guarded language. The Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Bongong in what is now Eastern Pakistan was more outspoken. Recalling his experience as an executive officer he said,

"I know of 14 cases in which persons insane from excessive use of ganja committed unpremeditated violent attacks on women passing by."

Major-General M. Millet who, after retirement, had settled down in a hill station in the Punjab, drawing upon his very extensive experience went even further and ascribed many cases of "rape and unnatural crime" in that province to charas and bhang.

Running Amok

One particular type of crime to which reference should now be made is running amok. In certain cases, this is unpremeditated, in others deliberate where the person concerned broods over his wrongs, real or fancied, and, after dosing himself with one or other of the hemp drugs, goes on murdering those he meets till he himself is either captured or killed. Mr. William Colebrooke Taylor after

47 years' residence in India including 33 years' experience as an officer in charge of sub-divisions in different parts of what is today Eastern Pakistan, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, said,

"The numerous cases of what is called running amok which occur in India are often, if not always, due to excessive doses of ganja.....taken with or without admixture of dhatura seeds."

Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel A. Crombie, M.D., Superintendent, General Hospital, Calcutta, in his evidence before the Hemp Drugs Commission expressed the same view adding that in many of these cases "the crime was unpremeditated and the criminal subsequently appeared to be oblivious of the circumstances."

Not merely ganja but charas and bhang also are equally responsible for these crimes. This seems clear from the evidence tendered before the Commission by witnesses coming from the Punjab where, as shown elsewhere, the use of these two drugs is common. Mr. A. Anderson, Deputy Commissioner, stated that he was convinced that the belief popularly held that excessive use of charas leads to crimes of violence was in his language, "well founded". He then went on to say that he knew of "numerous cases where charas smokers had run amok." Colonel Hutchinson observed that he had known "cases of men running amok under the influence of the drug (charas)." Referring to one particular instance, he said,

"I remember one case in which a Gurkha belonging to the regiment to which I was then attached ran 'amok' and killed or cut down some four or five people in the bazar."

Mr. J. P. Warburton, Punjab witness No. 30, traced the connection between running amok and the use of charas and bhang when he said,

"I have known of some cases where a man having taken charas or bhang to excess went off and committed motiveless crimes, such as running amok."

Mr. H. Kennedy, District Superintendent of Police, Bombay, said,

"I know of a case in which a sepoy of a Baluch regiment, when under the influence of ganja or bhang I forget which it was ran amok and shot at any one he came across, killing and wounding various persons."

The final word about the responsibility of bhang for some crimes of this type was said by Mr. F. A. Taylor, District Superintendent of Police, who stated,

"It is notorious that Gazees bhang themselves when they wish to fight or to run amok."

An army medical man while referring to the use made of bhang for the purpose of creating utter recklessness and contempt for death said,

"When I was on active service during the Afghan Campaign, 1878-81, many furious charges were made on our troops by bodies of 'Ghazis' who, under the influence of overwhelming excitement, rushed madly to the attack and continued to fight against any odds, until they were all killed. These men, I have no doubt, were temporarily mad from hemp."

Hemp Drugs and the Planning of Crime

That bad characters belong to the lower classes among whom the use of all three varieties of the hemp drugs is common explains why, relatively, more consumers of hemp drugs are found among them than among the whole population. This was referred to by witnesses appearing before the Hemp Drugs Commission from all parts of India. Thus Mr. A. M. Naha, pleader, Judge's Court, Bengal, Mr. B. Hamilton, District Superintendent of Police in the old North-Western Provinces, Mr. Mulraj, Extra Judicial Assistant Commissioner, Punjab, to mention a few only out of practically hundreds, alluded to the extensive use of these drugs by bad characters.

Assistant Surgeon H. M. Sen, Rai Bahadur K. Ghosal, Government Pensioner and landholder, and Government Pleader B. M. Sanyal of Bengal, Deputy Magistrate Abdus Samad of the old North-Western Provinces, Mr. F. A. Naylor, District Superintendent of Police and Rai Bahadur Pundit Dina Nath, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Central Provinces, spoke of bad characters being "habitual moderate consumers of ganja."

So far as charas is concerned, the view that it is consumed generally in moderation by bad characters was expressed by witnesses coming from charas-smoking areas such as Deputy Collector M. Mahomed Wazi of the old North-Western Provinces, Sardar Balwant Singh, Extra Assistant Commissioner and Jagirdar of the Punjab and Dr. S. M. Kaka, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., D.P.H., etc., of Sind.

As regards addiction to bhang by bad characters, we have the evidence of an old and experienced Revenue Officer of the N rth-Western Provinces and of Mr. H. Kennedy, District Superintendent of Police.

We have found already that, except under special circumstances, there is a tendency among hemp drug addicts to consume their favourite drug in company. When as characters come together for the purpose and when their finances are running low, it is to be expected that they should talk over means to replenish their purses and that, having become lazy, the idea of doing so by theft or robbery should suggest itself. While the more timid among them rely on their own efforts to secure means for indulgence in drugs depending on their relatives for the ordinary necessaries of life, most criminally minded addicts turn to unlawful ways for meeting their expenses.

The correctness of this view has been proved in the course of criminal trials and numerous references to it were made by the witnesses who were examined by the Hemp Drugs Commission. The evidence of only one of them, Maulvi Kassim Hasan Khan, Tehsildar, North Western Provinces, quoted below, makes this quite clear. He said,

"Generally rogues and vagabonds use them (hemp drugs) in assemblies. Such bad characters often plan criminal designs in such a condition."

Hemp Drugs and Premeditated Crime

The evidence tendered before the Hemp Drugs Commission by highly placed police officials, Government pleaders, zaminders and others qualified to speak with authority on the matter tends to prove that criminal addicts prepare themselves for their work by smoking ganja or charas. Generally, the former is used in Bengal, Bihar, the Central Provinces etc., and charas in the western districts of the United Provinces, in the Punjab, the N.W.F. Province and Sind.

Thus the Chairman of the Barasat Municipality, a Rai Bahadur who had served in the police for more than 30 years, and many executive officers of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa stated as the result of their personal experience that robbers and dacoits, in the language of one of them, "invariably smoke ganja immediately before commencing operations". Another executive officer with extensive experience of the activities of criminals in what is now western Bihar and the eastern districts of the United Provinces said,

"Nearly all clubmen, rioters, house-breakers, thieves and dacoits ...are consumers of ganja...They generally have a smoke of ganja before sallying forth on an expedition."

Mr. J. D. Anderson who, as a junior officer, had been in charge of the excise administration of nearly every district of Assam and who, later on, became Commissioner of Excise, said,

"The only habitual criminals in the province (of Assam) are the Mussalman river dacoits of Sylhet and foreigners of bad character in other districts. All, or nearly all, of these consume ganja habitually..."

Coming to the old North Western Provinces corresponding to present-day western Bihar, United Provinces, etc., we find a Joint Magistrate saying,

"Ganja and charas are invariably used by dacoits before they commit dacoities."

Why Criminals use Hemp Drugs

Many explanations have been offered as to why criminals indulge in ganja or charas before commencing operations. The commonest one seems to be the one offered by Mr. F. Porter, Inspector-General of Police, North Western Provinces, who stated,

"The only connection between these drugs and crime that I know of is that when a man has made up his mind to a crime and has not the pluck to do it, he takes the drug to give him Dutch courage."

The same opinion was also expressed by Mr. T. Stoker, I.C.S., also of the same province who said,

"My belief and experience as a Magistrate and Excise Officer is that...in cases where persons are going to commit a crime of violence already arranged and determined...they undoubtedly use hemp drugs... to fortify themselves...I remember catching dacoits red-handed who were said to have used hemp drugs. They were all in their senses."

Mr. H. L. Banerji, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Bengal, explained why criminals of this type observe moderation when he said that they did so as "they had to act with considerable deliberation and skill."

Another explanation advanced by certain witnesses and which also seems reasonable is that those criminals who are accustomed to hemp drugs have always recourse to them as they help the consumer to endure fatigue and exposure and stimulate him to unwonted exertion. Syed Habibullah, Joint Magistrate in the old North Western

Provinces, pointed this out in his evidence in the course of which he said,

"These drugs (ganja and charas) make them (dacoits) more active and enable them to walk long distance (as they dislike committing any offence in places close to where they reside thus facilitating their identification and detection)."

Mr. N. N. Roy, Zemindar, who had himself suffered from the activities of criminals of this type went into details and observed,

"There are many wily bad characters, that use the drug moderately in order to retain their memory sharp, sense keen, eye clear and ear acute for perpetrating crime with cunning, and at the same time use the drug only to give excitement to the action and to add extra amount of zeal and determination."

What Jail Records Say

Whatever the virtues ascribed to hemp drugs by criminal addicts, it is not always possible to escape detection, a fact amply proved by reference to the records of our jails. In addition to what was said about this matter by witnesses coming from Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the United Provinces, we find the non-Indian Inspector-General of Prisons, Punjab, stating as his considered opinion based on personal knowledge of the prisoners of this particular province that "a large proportion of the prisoners" were "habitual consumers of these intoxicating drugs (charas and bhang)".

Colonel H. H. Hallett, Inspector-General of Police and Prisons of the Central Provinces, where ganja and bhang are the two hemp drugs in use, was more definite. He said,

"In jails a large number of casuals might not be found to be consumers: but I think that if you got at the truth you would find 50 per cent. of the habituals to be consumers."

Similar views were expressed by Mr. E. H. Gadsden, Superintendent, Central Jail, Madras, who said,

"Fifty per cent. of re-convicted prisoners now in jail use ganja when at liberty."

After considering the various kinds of damage inflicted by indulgence in hemp drugs, one cannot but agree to the views expressed by Mr. H. C. Williams, I.C.S., who, in his memorandum submitted to the Hemp Drugs Commission, described them as

"a curse to the country on account of what they do in the way of producing crime."

The Commission's Views

An attempt has been made in the last two contributions and the present one to show that even moderate use of hemp drugs has adverse physical, intellectual and moral effects. The evidence cited in support of this view has been taken from the statements, written and oral, made by witnesses most of whom were properly and, in some cases, highly qualified, medical men, European and Indian, with extensive experience in India. Almost all of them seemed to be of the opinion that the hemp drugs are very deleterious in their effects, while an overwhelming majority went even so far as to suggest that they damage the health, the intellect and the morals of the habitual consumer even when used in moderate quantities.

Large numbers of experienced executive officers and officials of the Excise department, European and Indian, who also gave evidence agreed that excessive use is damaging. Some among them felt that even moderate use leads to injury but a majority regarded it as harmless.

Another group of witnesses drawn from the educated and enlightened portion of all communities stated that they did not consider the use of bhang on certain occasions as "absolutely essential" and that the consumption of hemp drugs should be prohibited in view of their undeniably evil effects.

The Indian Hemp Drugs Commission, however, which included only one European medical man tried to belittle the value of the views set forth by these highly competent and experienced witnesses most of whom knew the country thoroughly on the ground that they had failed to distinguish between the effects of moderate and excessive consumption so that while what they had said was quite true so far as the latter is concerned, they were mistaken in thinking that moderation leads to any marked physical, mental or moral deterioration.

One argument in favour of the above view on which great emphasis was laid by the Commission was that the evils, if any, resulting from their use in moderation, have not generally obtruded themselves on the attention of the public and that therefore many witnesses had refrained from answering questions on this matter included in the questionnaire sent out to them.

As a matter of fact, out of 1,140 witnesses examined, these questions were answered by 866 or about 76 per cent. of the people.

Of these, 623 or 72 per cent. declared even the moderate consumption of hemp drugs to be deleterious while 243 or 28 per cent. said that no evil effects resulted from indulgence in them.

It is for the reader to judge whether in view of the above statistical information, and the evidence from medical experts already placed before him, the opinion expressed by the Commission can be justified. One reason which may be and has, as a matter of fact, been urged is that the attitude in question was partly due to the financial implications of prohibition, loss consequest on the adoption of which could hardly be expected to be welcome to an alien administration desirous of meeting its expenses in such a way as to give rise to the minimum amount of irritation. Another and, probably, an equally strong reason was its reluctance to interfere with longstanding social customs and religious observances which might lead to political discontent and consequent friction between the rulers and the ruled.

It need hardly be stated that the Hemp Drugs Commission was repeating an old and worn-out argument when it maintained that so-called temperance in consumption is harmless or nearly so. But as prejudice dies hard, it is proposed to examine hereafter the soundness of its contention that moderate indulgence and not excess is the general rule.

INFLATION AS HIGH PRICE*

PROF. BENOY SARKAR, M.A., Dr. *h.c.*

Head of the Departments of Economics and Commerce; Secretary, World Economic Institute of Calcutta University.

HIGH PRICE AND PROSPERITY

Inflation is an abstraction. The concrete reality is high price. To-day our convention is formally addressed to inflation. But factually each one of us is orientated to high price.[1]

Men and women of the teaching profession,—even though they may be economists,—are the least competent to discuss the economics of inflation. As gainfully employed persons they belong to a group whose income is despicably low and extremely inelastic. And they are just the person who are the greatest sufferers during an inflation economy. But in the occupational structure of the entire country this group is one of the smallest of all groups of gainfully employed men and women. It is, therefore, on the sufferings of a very small number of men, women and children, that as a rule the professors and schoolmasters (and perhaps journalists also) try to build up their theories of inflation as an economic disequilibrium or malady.

Economists are likely to ignore or minimise a great statistical reality of the world to-day. However high the price, no bazar is suffering from the dearth of buyers. There are buyers with small, fixed and limited supplies of money, and there are buyers with large, elastic and expanding supplies of money. The latter are not confined to any particular sector of the community. Such buyers with elastic and plentiful earnings are considerable even among unskilled workers, bearers, illiterate *chaprasis*, literate *durwans* of business offices, industrial workingmen, clerks of commercial establishments, ration shop-hands, persons employed by Government in war or quasi-war effort. As consumers of goods and services they are functioning as effectively as the market wants. Prosperity in the regime of high

* Presidential Address at the Economic Convention on Inflation organised by the Khoj Parishat (Institute of Social and Economic Research) of the Socialist Party of India at Calcutta University, Senate Hall (27-29th August, 1948).

[1] Benoy Sarkar : "Inflation in Theory and Practice" (lecture at the Bengali Institute of Economics on 28th March, 1943) reported in the *Hindustan Standard*, 29th March, 1943. Inflation in the Paradox of War-Economy (*Calcutta Review*, August, 1943); "What is Demobilization?" (Calcutta Review, June, 1945).

prices is quite in evidence among large groups of buyers, whose propensity to consume is quite keen and extensive.

What about sellers? High price is a God-send to them. It is a or the key to high margins of profit and furnishes the greatest spur to producers, wholesalers, retailers and shop-keepers. They may be dealers in production (capital) goods or in consumer goods. Their output may be primary commodities as well as the necessaries of life. Or it may be the comforts and luxuries. They are invariably out of stock during the regime of inflation. Perhaps the markets for certain kinds of goods are found to be dull certain localities or in certain seasons. But on the whole the demands appear to be never failing and the salesmen to be ever active. And in the background full employment is being enjoyed by workingmen.

There are then millions of human beings in India as elsewhere who are exhibiting prosperity during the inflation. The earnings of many groups of gainfully employed persons are not fixed and are quite elastic. In order to increase their command over the medium of exchange they do not often have to depend upon the paltry dearness allowances doled out by their employers in a niggardly fashion. The economic world to which many of such persons belong is used to *bakshish*, bribery, corruption, blackmailing, profiteering, blackmarketing, swindling and so forth. These anti-social customs and practices, —perhaps known to be illegal and immoral—constitute the brass tags of a country's normal economy in East and West especially during an inflation boom.

It is this boom aspect of inflation that enables legion of customers to buy fish at Rs. 4 per seer, sweets at Rs. 10 per seer and *sarees* at Rs. 100 per piece, build houses, factories, workshops, and cinemas and to travel long distances by air or in air-conditioned first-class compartments. Members of the teaching profession may not have the chance of hobnobbing with such specimens of inflation bourgeoisie or the *nouveaux riches*. But the statistics of bazar-goers, the sales of sweatmeat stores, hotels and restaurants as well as the dinners at social clubs can be seen by those that run. They can hardly be overlooked by intellectuals and scientists, whose function is not to enjoy wealth but study how wealth is enjoyed by others and to inquire into the causes of the wealth of nations.

GROUP-ECONOMICS *vis-a-vis* INFLATION

There are two groups of gainfully employed persons. There are those who as traders, speculators, middlemen, agents, dealers, clerks,

assistants, and so on are always likely to earn several times their legally known fees, honorariums or salaries by hook or by crook in the daily conduct of their transactions. And there are those others to whom the chances of such extra-wage, extra-salary, extra-contract, extra-honorarium gratifications are like angels' visits few and far between. High price affects these latter groups in a way entirely different from how it affects the others.

Inflation like every other item of economic phenomena is a matter of group values. There can hardly be any universal or uniform and national or regionally united reactions to inflation. In this connection I am reminded of an old story current in Sanskrit literature. In the winter month of *Paush* (December-January) the householder enjoys a meal of meat and keeps himself warm. But how does he get the meat? By killing the goat, of course. To the goat, therefore, the value of the transaction consists in its own annihilation. Hence the slogan :—*Ekasya Sarvanashah Anyasya tu Paushamasah.* (It is destruction to one but the month of *Paush*, that is, enjoyment to the other). The conflict between groups is the eternal reality in economic activity. It is this group-conflict that is the fundamental theme of economic science, comprising as it does the science of inflation.

The income-groups or gainfully employed groups of which I am speaking are numerous. They are not identical with and have no logical or functional *liaison* with the two stereotyped classes of Marx, the surplus-value-*walla* bourgeois and the surplus-valueless proletariat, who are supposed to be carrying on a ceaseless class-struggle between themselves. My groups are none other than the myriads of occupational or professional divisions of a community. These are the cultivators, artisans, shop-keepers, domestic servants, intellectuals, technical men, administrators, investors and so on. They comprise, of course, the industrial workers whose number in India, however, is almost immaterial, less than 2 per cent of the total Indian population.

Encyclopaedia of Inflation Therapeutics

For inflation doctors the first offender is obviously the Reserve Bank with its increased note-circulation. The second offender is the large money-supply in the hands of consumers. The next is the high price charged by producers or dealers. The fourth is the market with a reduced output. Last but not least is the bnsinessman with large profits and extensive tax-evasions.

These five targets constitute the irreducible minimum of strategy in the war against inflation. An encyclopaedia of inflation therapeutics would have to deal with each one of these and other offenders in an elaborate and intensive manner.[1]

The encyclopaedia of antidotes to inflation comprises such standardised specifics as steeply graded taxes on businessmen and exemplary punishment of tax-evaders. Restrictions on demand and purchase, compulsory savings and rationing of goods occupy a few chapters in this huge tome. Price-control and discriminative prices as well as subsidies to producers in order to render price production possible are likewise important remedies. Regulation of exports and imports is not to be overlooked. Then there is the intensification of output occupying a great deal of space. The withdrawal of large denomination notes from circulation is not an unimportant item. Retrenchment and balancing of budgets belong by all means to this encyclopaedia.

Just one or two of these and similar remedies are being touched upon in the present address.

Ideal Price Pattern

Let us start with the price mechanism and the pricing of goods. What is a good, socially desirable or economically worth-while price-pattern?

The price may in the first place, be (*i*) high, (*ii*) higher, (*iii*) rising. These three categories of prices are different from one another in their impacts on producers as well as consumers. Secondly, the prices may be (*i*) low, (*ii*) lower, and (*iii*) falling. And finally, the prices may be static, fixed, stationary or stabilised.

Obviously, in regard to these seven different patterns of price the income-groups, the producer-groups, the dealer-groups and other groups are each likely to have their own and therefore divergent and conflicting reactions. Nay, in each one of these groups there are likely to be different sections which would react to the pricing in diverse ways.

One illustration would suffice. We know when Southern Calcutta, especially the newer portion of Ballygunge, was raising its head. It was during 1929-35 that buildings were being erected on

[1] For antidotes to inflation see Benoy Sarkar : *Equations of World-Economy* (1943), pp. 139-141; *Report on Currency and Finance 1947-48* (Bombay 1948), p. 7.

a somewhat appreciable scale. Many of the proprietors were persons with fixed incomes, pensions and so forth. They found it convenient to buy house properties or build them because the building materials as well as the services were cheap. It was known as the epoch of world-economic depression or slump. Cultivators were getting hardly any price for rice, jute and wheat. The village people were being impoverished. The prices were unspeakably low. And naturally persons with fixed incomes, say, Government servants, pensioners, etc., in towns were flourishing. Prosperity in urban areas was proceeding side by side with adversity, depression and poverty in the rural. That was the economics of low prices—without indulging in statistical magnitudes.

Today the situation is just the reverse. On account of high prices of rice, wheat, fish, and other commodities coming from the hinterland, it is the rural areas that are commanding money and exhibiting prosperity. The opposite is to be found among Government servants, clerks, schoolmasters, etc., and such other categories as can hardly help themselves with extra-salary earnings. High price is not more anti-social than low price. The pattern of low price is not more ideal and worthwhile than that of high. The dynamics of price mechanism does not know an ideal pattern.

For one thing, an abrupt fall of prices at the present moment is likely to generate bankruptcies, failures and commercial disasters on a countrywide scale. This would initiate an epoch of unemployment.

Direct Price Control

Suppose we proceed on the hypothesis that the lowering of prices is a worthwhile consummation. Some of the precedents in this field may be easily singled out.[1] Direct attacks on price-increase were well-known in the therapeutics of inflation during World War II. As a preparation to war Germany had declared a general prohibition of price increase in 1936 in connection with the 4-year plan. It was practised in France, Switzerland and Italy during 1939-40. In the U. S. A. " ceilings ", *i.e.*, maxima for prices began to be set up in 1941. Most non-ferrous metals, steel scrap, certain iron and steel mill products and so forth were not permitted to be

[1] *World-Economic Survey 1939-41* (Geneva 1941), pp. 118-126, 1942-44 (Geneva 1945), pp. 235-240. For 1948-49 the British budget for subsidies to farmers is £41,300,000 (*National Provincial Bank Review*, August 1948, pp. 6-7).

placed on the market at higher than the legally maximum prices. Price-stop was practised in Japan also. In 1937, highest prices were fixed for many commodities. Their number rose to 100,000 by 1940.

Reduction of prices by Government paying subsidy to producers belongs likewise to the experiences of state control during World War II. In 1934, subsidies to the tune of $ 1,143,000,000 were paid by the U. S. Government in order to check the rise in wholesale prices and the cost of living. Of these amounts 73 per cent was paid to the producers of foodstuff and farm products, 12 per cent to those of metal ores, 9 per cent to the transporters of petroleum products.

From 1939-44, the Government of the U. K. spent £815,000,000 on subsidies paid to the producers of a very large number of goods. Without such subsidies " the cost of living index might have been 45 to 50 p. c. over the pre-war level compared with the actual increase of 28 p. c. " during 1943-44.

Quasi War-Economy

World economy since 1945, *i.e.*, the end of the World War II is not an ordinary post-war economy, say, like the pattern of world-economy between 1919-22 after World War I. It would be a profound mistake to describe it just as an aftermath of the war. It is, to all intents and purposes, a continuation of the war-economy, nay war-economy itself. And this war-economy is to be found today (1945-48) as much in India as in the rest of the world,—although actual shootings and bombings. Blitzes and evacuations and so forth are not much in evidence.

Three kinds and patterns of war-economy are to be envisaged. The first, of course, is the full war-economy. The second is the economy of war-preparedness, *e.g.*, of Germany and Soviet Russia and to a certain extent of the U. K. and France from 1919-39, specially from 1933-1939. Then there is what may be called quasi-war-economy.

It is as instances of the quasi-war-economy that every industrial, technocratic, scientific, sanitary and populational measure in the world since 1945 has need to be appraised. For one thing, World War II has not yet been formally rung out and legally closed by a declaration of peace on an internationally recognised and valid basis. The Anglo-American world-empire or the so-called Western Bloc is virtually at war with the Russian Empire in Europe as well as in Asia. The

Marshal Plan for the recovery of Europe and the world is antipodal to the Molotov Plan for the Sovietisation of Europe and mankind. In regard to India since August, 1947, the official head of Pakistan has in season and out of season employed just one category, namely, "enemy". It is an enemy that Pakistan is publicly orientated to India. Then there are the Kashmir and the Hyderabad theatres. In Southern Asia as well as South Eastern "Asia from Burma to Indo-China and Indonesia, nay, in Asia-Minor, it is not mere war-preparedness that we witness but actual warfare.

For all practical purposes no Government anywhere in Eur-Asia or Eur-America has considered it prudent to practise substantial relaxations of or deviations from the war-economy of 1939-45. Production, monetary circulation, transportation and other economic items are being kept up as far as possible on the war basis. This is how and why "the full employment" of war-boom has been somewhat sought to be maintained since 1945.

Handicaps to Production

War-economy is essentially control economy because at bottom it is nothing but state economy. It is war-communism or war socialism, Price-control is a most fundamental item in the economics of control during war. Analytically speaking, it involves, among other things, first state-control of production, and secondly state-control of marketing. Ultimately it resolves itself into a problem of business administration, agricultural organisation, industrial management, bank rationalisation, as well as financial and currency manipulation.

In the Anglo-American sphere the State-control of production has been realised to a considerable extent. But in India it has been tremendously handicapped. The paucity of trained industrial workers as well as of machineries, tools, and implements is one supreme factor. The relative absence of scientific and technical resources for agricultural improvements is a second factor. The inadequacy of agricultural experts, industrial engineers, geologists, chemists and so forth and their inability to cope with the vast problems on a sub-continental level is a third factor. No less serious are the handicaps due to presence of anti-social agencies and forces. The loyalties of workingmen, foremen, superintendents, technical experts, managers, directors, Accountants and clerks to one another are very often questionable. Mutual suspicions and sabotage are the inter-human realities in every business enterprise, Bank, Insurance Company, Factory, Agricultural

establishment as well as administrative office. Bribery, corruption, nepotism and immorality of diverse sorts militate against the smooth functioning of control economy in production under state auspices.

It is worthwhile to invite attention here to special handicaps to production in the Indian conjuncture. India together with Pakistan does not claim more than, roughly speaking five million industrial workers strictly so-called, in a population of say 400 millions. Besides, unionised labour constitutes a very low percentage of this labour force. Labour strength of the modern industrial and capitalistic pattern is therefore, extremely small in India.

And yet so far as the ideas and ideals of labour are concerned these few members of Trade Unions have been taught to accept the most radical and uptodate slogans prevalent in the hyper-developed countries of the world. Indeed, India has become Doctor of Philosphy in socialism and communism as ideologies before she could effiectively master the A.B.C. of industrial economy and capitalism on a somewhat appreciable scale. The factories, workshops, laboratories and other industrial establishments are with very few exceptions miserably poor in expert man-power, primitive and antiquated in technical appliances, as well as inefficient in the organisation of men and materials. Very few of them can really be described as genuine industrial concerns of the successful Eur-American pattern. Social insurance is as yet virtually unknown in the atmosphere of these concerns.[1] The lag and disequilibrium between a low kindergarten stage of industrialisation and the very high level of socialistic-communistic slogans is one of the strongest handicaps to material and social progress.

Marketing as a Moral Phenomenon

In regard to marketing, likewise, the Anglo-American sphere can be credited with certain doses of success in controlled economy. But in India the links between the producer and the consumer through the dealer are ever disjointed, ricketty and anything but smooth. The administrative hierarchy in the techno-economically more advanced countries has for years been used to a large number of trained and dependable officials at different rungs of the ladder. India has hardly had any experience of state-socialism on an extensive scale and is therefore not used to the regime of effective controllers, effective inspectors, and effective enforcers. Effectiveness in state-control of

[1] Benoy Sarkar : *Social Insurance Legislation and Statistics* (Calcutta 1935), pp. 10-19, 46-63.

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marketing as of production presupposes a relatively bribe-proof, honest and incorruptible *corps* of officers. India will have to look for such an administrative staff from the highest to the lowest level if the economics of control as inevitable in war-economy, is to be successfully managed with a view to combating inflation.

In controlled economy with special reference to inflation as high price, we encounter, then, on the one hand, a problem of effective administration of agriculture, manufacture and commerce. On the other hand, the problem of honest, dependable and morally solid agents in Government service as well as in the business world, municipal and local government offices, middlemen's activities, and domestic relations becomes a tremendous issue. In economics, a non-moral science as it is, we are finally confronted with the questions of ethics. An intriguing situation, undoubtedly.

The Inflation-Complex

In regard to the inflation-high-price complex the most conventional topic is the note-issue and the role of the Reserve Bank. It is generally ignored or overlooked that this complex is more comprehensive and really totalitarian. Inflated money arises and becomes necessary during a war-regime or a quasi-war regime on account of inflated employment, extra-ordinary employment or over-employment. Inflation in employment is attended at the same time with highly strung up salaries and wages, that is, inflated earnings or incomes.

In the third place, there is inflation in production and transportation. This inflated output is to be seen chiefly in certain directions or sectors. These are the so-called war goods and services as contrasted with the civilian or "non-essential" goods and services which as a rule are cut down quite considerably. And in this field also the payments for raw materials, machineries and services are keyed up as high as possible in order to attract even the most mediocre and worthless producers.

Inflation, then, is not a complex simply of two items, large monetary circulation or over monetisation and high price. It comprises inflation in employment, inflation in earnings as well as inflation in production (comprising transportation). GS 1609

Supply of Money

We shall now attend to the monetary inflation or over-monetisation.[1]

With 1945 as 100 the money-supply index in Feb.-March, 1948 for Canada is 111, Switzerland 109, India 108, Sweden 99, U.S.A., 97, Australia 92, and U.K. 91. Sweden, U.S.A, Australia and U.K. have been witnessing a fall. Rice has been a fact in Canada, Switzerland and India.

During the same period the wholesale price index has gone higher in every one of these countries. The indices are as follows: U S.A. 152, Canada 143, U.K. 141, India 140, Australia 117, Sweden 107, Switzerland 107.

Price increase is 52 per cent in U.S.A. although money supply has come down to 97. It is 41 per cent in U.K. with money supply diminishing to 91. Similarly it is 7 per cent in Sweden, although money supply has slightly fallen, *e.g.* to 99. Evidently price-increase is not invariably a function of increased money supply. The quantitative formula cannot, as is well understood, be accepted at its face-value.

From 1945 to 1948 March the cost of living index has risen from 118 to 149 in Canada, from 153 to 163 in Switzerland, from 125 to 163 in U.S.A. (1937=100). But in the U.K. it has gone down from 132 to 106 (1937=100). U.K.'s experience is unique. It is noteworthy also that there the cost of living index has not gone along with the wholsale index as in other countries. The wholesale index is higher but the cost of living index is lower.

Evidently the currency curve and the price-curve do not run parallel. It is possible to enable the two curves to run at different levels. There is such a thing as management and control. Currency can be managed and controlled. So also can price. We have already noticed how price control has been achieved by Governments in various countries. That experiment should be quite worthwhile in India too on the German, British, American and other models.

Reduction of Sterling Balances

What about currency, and the note-issue and the Reserve Bank? They are also to be brought under State control if reduction of prices be accepted as an economically and socially desirable goal.

[1] *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics* (United Nations, Lake Success, New York). April, 1948, Vol. II, pp. 128-137, 153-161, 164-170; *Report on Currency and Finance* 1947-48 (Bombay 1948), p. 53.

Increase in the monetary circulation has been effected in diverse countries of the world in different ways. So far as India is concerned the most obvious and the palpable method is that of the sterling balances deposited by the U.K. with the Bank of England in the account of the Reserve Bank of India. It is by this technique that the note-issue in rupees has multiplied during and since World War II. One of the most effective antidotes to inflation, or what is the same thing in the present context, increased monetary circulation, should appear to be a direct and front attack on the sterling balances. These balances in favour of India rose to astronomical figures during the war period, because the U.K. was prepared to pay extraordinarily high prices for the goods and services sold by India. The purchase was a military necessity for the U.K. and therefore she considered it expedient and worthwhile to be charged anything and everything. Today there is hardly any reasonable chance of India's being able to realize and utilize these assets in a palpable manner at her own will and within a short period of time.[1]

Indian inflation doctors of the day should be well-advised, therefore, if they were, first, to reconsider the excessively heavy war-prices charged of the U.K. by India (inspite of the war-time acceptance of those prices as fair by the U.K.), and secondly, to commence revaluating the mythical assets of India with the U.K. and writing off considerable slices in an unsentimental manner. Other circumstances remaining the same, Rupee circulation in India can be driven automatically somewhat downwards as soon as the sterling deposits of India in London are scaled down to reasonable proportions. A deliberate, judicious, and discriminative devaluation of the sterling balances in a goalful and planned manner ought to be discussed by Indian economists and businessmen as one of the most specific and effective remedies to inflation-cum-high price in the present conjuncture.

[1] Benoy Sarkar : " The Sterling Balances as a Semi-mythical (lecture at the Indigenous Manufacturers' Conference, Indian Association, on 28 Nov. 1944), reported in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the next day;

" The Relative Futility of Sterling Balances as Aid to Industrialization " in *Benoy Sarkarer Baithake*, Vol. II (1945) :

" India's Sterling Balances Already Scaled Down " (interviewed on Finance Minister Chetty's statement with the United Press of India published in the *Hindustan Standard* of 29th July, 1948 and other Dailies :

" The Sterling Agreement and International Exchange " in " Financial Data of Dominion India in Anglo-American Perspectives " (*Eur-Asia*, Calcutta, August. 1948).

APPENDIX

Anti-Inflationary Measures

(Based on the above)

It is not the homoeopathic principle of a single remedy that the above analysis has suggested. There is no economic Nux Vomica, as it were, such as is alone efficacious enough to deal with the inflation complex.

My economic reasoning does not follow a single-track, monistic pattern. It is pluralistic and recommends rather, on the allopathic principle, so to say, a large number of recipes for internal as well as external applications. Each is of diverse doses according to the circumstances of the case. But all are to be applied simultaneously, without priority or preference.

The fundamental problem consists in slowly and judiciouly consumating the transfer from war-economy to peace-time economy, in case a real peace-time economy is ever to come. And yet the boom and so-called "full employment" of the war or quashi-war period must not be mismanoeuvered or misdirected into depression, bankruptcies, slump and unemployment by an abrupt and reckless lowering of prices and profits. The antidotes to inflation-high price are therefore to be prescribed in a cautious, open-eyed and realistic as well as pragmatic although firm manner.

No anti-capitalistic animus ought to be indulged in. It should be the aim of the Government to harmonize the interests and viewpoints, as far as practicable, of cultivators, industrial workers, businessmen as well as intellectuals. No one-sided interpretation from the academic angle can by any means be entertained or fostered.

The measures are being indicated below. They are partly for long and intermediate periods. But most of them can be applied at once, and others can likewise be initiated without delay. On the whole, however, the recipes would look like a programme of planning for economic development under state initiative and direction.

I. Price-Control

1. Price-stops. Prohibitions of price-increase. Maxima of Prices. Ceilings: To be declared by the Government in regard to cereals, oil, sugar, clothing, cement, domestics hardware, and building materials.

2. Price-discrimination. Relatively lower prices for foodstuffs and clothing to be sanctioned by Government for certified families on relief, refugees and other destitutes.

3. Subsidy to producers and transporters of food-stuffs in order to reduce the prices.

II. Intensification of Production

(A) Agriculture.

1. Cultivable waste lands to be brought under cultivation with adequate financial aid of the Government. New settlements established. Internal colonization promoted.

2. Liberal grants from the Reserve Bank to the Co-operative Credit System for distribution among primary societies at nominal rates of interests.

3. Development of fisheries (riverine and maritime.)

(B) Industry.

1. Stricter factory management with an eye to unbroken and systematic work.

2. Medium industries to be started under Government auspices in order to construct improved ploughs and other agricultural as well as irrigational implements.

3. Employment of artisans and *mistris* in new Cottage Industries under Municipal and Union Board auspices.

4. Machine-building and engineering factories to be started or whipped up in order to supply capital goods.

5. "*Mistrification*" of youngmen at 15 (for three years) by Government in schools or workshops in order to furnish technically trained *personnel* to industries.

6. Inventions and discoveries to be promoted by the employment of scientific *personnel* in Government laboratories and research institutes functioning independently of but in co-operation with Universities and Colleges of Engineering and Technology.

(C) Stimulation of Transportation and Internal Trade.

1. Expansion of Railway workshops with a view to the construction of engines, rolling stock, and aids and accessories.

2. Building of vessels to be used on rivers and seas.

3. Improvement of roads for bullock carts.

4. Removal of hindrances to the movement of coal, raw materials, and finished products.

(D) Marketing.

1. Middlemen's emoluments to be controlled.

2. Quality of goods to be guaranteed.

3. Weight-cutting in bazars to be severely dealt with.

4. Cornerings to be sedulously unearthed and punished.

III. Expansion of Foreign Trade

1. Imports of machineries and quality goods to be encouraged.
2. Exports to Asia and Africa to be promoted through consular and commercial agents.

IV. Restriction of Consumption

1. Rationing (according to sex, age, occupation, etc.) of foodstuffs for the non-agricultural population, and of cloth for the entire population.
2. Black markets to be minimized through inspection and penalty.
3. Honest, impartial and effective administration to be guaranteed.

V. Restriction of Money Supply

1. Withdrawal of 100 Rupee notes and their replacement (above a certain amount) by Government securities at par.
2. Freezing or blocking of long-standing time-deposits (above a certain amount) in commercial banks, part of which may be released subsequently.
3. Compulsory savings to be enforced on salaried individuals and wage-earners.
4. Sterling balance to be reduced (written off) in considerable slices deliberately and discriminatively in a goalful manner.

VI. Public Finance

1. Steeply graded taxes on war-profits and quasi-war profits together with the assurance of fair profits.
2. Retrenchments and curtailments of salaries especially at the higher levels.
3. Balanced budget.

LATE 18TH CENTURY CALCUTTA AND LIFE IN ITS EUROPEAN COLONY

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PART III

Trade, Interior, and Foreign

By the year 1786 agents of the East India Company, both native and British were pushing into the deep interior of India in search of merchandise which would find a ready European market. The Court of Directors, in letters of March 14 and April 12, 1786, appointed a Hugh Baille to reside at or in the vicinity of Gaulparah [63] to "superintend and protect Merchants of every description engaged in the lawful commerce between these provinces and the province of Assam." Bailee was given a monopoly on the salt trade so that the position would be worthwhile.[64] During the same year, the Court of Directors authorized Lyon Prager to proceed to Benares and establish residence there for the purpose of trading in pearl, diamonds, diamond boart, and other precious stones. Any other European company's servant was prohibited from a like trade unless a similar covenant be entered into by those concerned.[65]

In March, 1788, the Company factory at Dacca was damaged by a "dreadful conflagration" which swept through the entire city.[66]

On November 4, 1788, a Sylhet trader named Menchin was attacked by nineteen armed boats and robbed of goods valued at eight hundred Rupees. During the following spring, a warning was issued that the Cossyahs,[67] inhabitants of the hills north of Sylhet, had committed "daring acts of violence of late:" [68] these tribesmen were probably responsible for the earlier attack upon Menchin.

[63] Gaulparah is probably the modern village of Goalpara, located on the Brahmaputra River in extreme southeastern Assam province. Goalpara would have been on the early trade routes to Assam.

[64] Seton-Karr, *Selections*, I, 191.

[65] *Ibid.*, 135.

[66] *Ibid.*, 251.

[67] Cossyah refers to the modern Khasi tribes that inhabit the Khasi hills in the neighbourhood of Shillong.

[68] Seton-Karr, *Selections*, II, 218f.

An account of an extended trip into the mountains of northwest India came from a letter written at "Futtyghur, 8th June, 1789." In part, the letter reads:

> The two Mr. Daniels (Landscape Painters) are returned from their excursion. The drawings they have taken of the hills and snowy mountains above Hurdwar [69] are well worth publishing. Several gentlemen from Anopsheer went with them, and by all their accounts they have been sixty coss up the course of the Ganges above Hurdwar, and where Europeans were never before. The country people stared at them as if they had been supernatural beings, and insisted on looking particularly at their clothes and touching them. They found some parts of the Ganges forty feet deep, and the stream astonishingly rapid, particularly near a place called Serinaghur, where it is impossible to stem the current. The people cross the river by a curious bridge of ropes. Their passage over the hills was not only tremendous, but dangerous, from narrow, rugged, and almost perpendicular paths over immense mountains, continued in many places by the trunks of trees laid from one large rock to another. The prospect of distant villages on the tops of the hills and the different ranges of snowy mountains formed the most pleasing view. They met with pine, oak, and cherry trees, raspberry, &c., with many other trees and plants, natives of Europe. The weather was so cold that, in the month of May, they could not, with the assistance of great coats, keep themselves comfortably warm.[70]

The European merchant was evidently not welcome in certain territories north of the Surmah [71] River and the town of Sylhet. In November, 1790, all merchants—British born, Armenians, and Greeks—were required to obtain a certificate or license showing permission to reside in the Sylhet region. No person was to be allowed to proceed north of the Surmah River. The traders were prohibited from trading arms, ammunitions or other military stores to the "Cossyahs or other Hill people." [72] By the year 1795 all persons

[69] The two men probably entered the mountains above the modern village of Hardwar, a small village located in extreme northwest United Provinces on the upper Ganges River. Hardwar is south of the Punjab States and the frontier of Tibet.

[70] Seton-Karr, *Selections*, II, 219°.

[71] Surma River is a stream rising in the eastern Khasi Hills and flowing southwest into the Brahmaputra, southwest of Sylhet.

[72] Seton-Karr, *Selections*, II, 31.

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sending military escorts with merchandise bound for Assam were required to obtain pass-ports from the Commissioner of Cooch-Behar. This passport was necessary only if armed men were moving with the convoy.[73]

It is significant to note that by 1795 the interior trade of the East India Company had spread northeast from Calcutta beyond Dacca to the vicinity of Sylhet and the Surma River valley. There the traders were blocked by the Khasi tribes, the inhabitants of the Khasi hill tract. The traders, however, had flanked the hills north of Sylhet by following the course of the Brahmaputra River around the western end of the mountains, through the narrows near Goalpara, and hence into the fertile Assam valley. British adventurers had also moved northwest from the Brahmaputra-Ganges junction and were exploring the northwest frontier territory in the vicinity of the modern Punjab and the border of Tibet.

So much for interior trade. An examination of the *Gazettes* of this period also reveals a well established foreign trade, especially to the east. As early as August, 1784, the "Governor General and Council were encouraging intercourse of trade between "Bengal and Thibet." An agent, Sam Turner by name, had obtained a promise of encouragement from the "Rajah of Teeshoo Loombo to all Merchants, Natives of India, who may be sent to traffic in Thibet."[74] The Indian merchants were invited to engage in this trade and were advised to assemble with their goods at Rungpore[75] early in February and to leave Rungpore in March, thus passing through "Bhuton" in a favorable season and reaching "Thibet" in April. It was suggested that the "adventurers to Thibet" form a caravan and that the following articles would be appropriate to carry on the first adventure:—superfine cloths, of the colors yellow, red, and striped; bath coating; cheap watches, clocks, trinkets of any kind; snuff boxes; pocket knives and scissors; indigo; large imperfect pearls; amber; guzzie, or coarse cotton cloths, and cloves. The returns it was said, might consist of "Gold Dust, Talents of Silver, Musk, Cows Tails, and Goats Wool."[76]

The company's trade to the east was greatly aided by the establishment of a British settlement on "Pulo Penang Island."

[73] *Ibid.*, 139.
[74] *Ibid.*, I, 3.
[75] Rungpore probably refers to modern Rangpur, a town located south of the Tista River in northern Bengal. Rangpur is located south of Cooch-Behar and is near the frontier of Bhutan.
[76] Seton-Karr, *Selections*, I. 4.

CALCUTTA CENTRAL

This outpost was described as useful "as a mart for all the trade from this country to China and the eastward."[77] The trade with Burma, on the other hand, met many obstacles. During the late months of 1788 an English ship was seized at Rangoon by order of the King of Ava and the ship captain was accused of the murder of a person belonging to his vessel on a previous voyage. By means of torture, the Burmese exacted a considerable sum from this unfortunate captain before releasing him.[78] In October, 1789, two east Indiamen, the *Durham* and *Adventure*, were returning from Pegu when they encountered gales in the Bay of Bengal and perished.[79] The disadvantages of trade with Burma were, in a large measure, removed by the mission to the Kingdom of Ava of Captain Michael Symes in 1795. The British merchant and agents as a result were to have "free liberty to go to any part of the Birman dominions for the purpose of selling their own goods or purchasing the produce of the country.[80]

The commercial contact with the east brought the company merchant into contact with opium. On November 25, 1784, an auction of opium "belonging to the Hon'ble Company" was held. A total of 24449 chests of opium were sold with "Bills of exchange, orders on the Treasury" taken as payment.[81] In December, 1788, the *Gazette* reported that the company's opium at the sales of the previous week "went remarkably high," some chests being sold at 603 Sicca Rupees and the average price was set at 590 Sicca Rupees per chest.[82] In March, 1790, the opium contractors of the company sought to protect their privileges by bringing the matter to the attention of the governor-general and council. The result was a stern warning to "all British subjects" notifying them that whosoever should be detected acting contrary to regulations of government limiting the provision and manufacture of opium to public contractors shall forfeit the protection of the company and be returned to Europe. A guilty native would be subject to a fine of 375 Sicca Rupees per maund for every maund of opium which he may be convicted of having illegally provided.[83] Thus the licensed opium contractors attempted to stamp out the lucrative illicit trade.

77 *Ibid.*, 159.
78 *Ibid.*, II, 197f.
79 *Ibid.*, 236.
80 *Ibid.*, 178.
81 *Ibid.*, I. 8.
82 *Ibid.*, I, 273.
83 *Ibid.*, II, 21.

Opium was not the only item which supported a lucrative illicit trade. Calcutta was full of private traders, free lancers, and company factors who were engaging in illicit trade with the wily Hindu natives. In 1786 the *Gazette* published an article from the " Court of Directors of the United East India Company " saying that the directors had received information that great quantities of tea, muslin, chinaware, diamonds, and other merchandise had been illicitly imported in East India ships, smuggled on shore to the very great damage of the revenue of the Company. As a reward to informers, the Court of Directors was willing to pay one half of what the company should recover and receive.[84] The illicit trade continued and in 1792 the Court of Directors, again saying that they had reason to believe that an illicit and unlawful trade was being carried on between Europe and India by British subjects, threatened dismissal from company service of any person holding an office or employment under the company if such official, directly or indirectly, was concerned with the carrying of this illicit and unlawful trade.[85] The illicit traffic did not stop with this warning but continued through the nineteenth and, in part, into the twentieth century.

PART IV

Health

The general health of the populace in and near Calcutta has never been good. From 1780 onward correspondents to the newspapers make frequent complaints about the indescribably filthy conditions of the streets and roads. In 1790 the cesspools and canal reeked with dead animal matter ; the awful stench which resulted drew millions of flies, and great flocks of scavenger birds ate out of he streets and gutters. In April, 1780, the unsanitary conditions in the vicinity of the Great Tank were described by a correspondent, who wrote :

> As I was jogging along in my palanqueen yesterday, I could not avoid observing without a kind of secret concern for the health of several of my tender and delicate friends,— a string of parria dogs, without an ounce of hair on some of them, and in the last stage of the mange, plung in and refresh themselves very comfortably in the great Tank.[86]

[84] *Ibid.*, I, 132.
[85] *Ibid.*, II, 58.
[86] Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 165.

It can be added that the Great Tank served as a source of drinking water. Additional pollution was revealed in the Calcutta newspaper when a correspondent commented:

> Should you believe it that, in the very center of this opulent city, and almost under our noses, there is a spot of ground measuring not more than six hundred square yards used as a public burying ground by the Portuguese inhabitants, where there are annually interred, upon a medium, no less than four hundred dead bodies; that these bodies are generally buried without coffins, and in graves dug so shallow as not to admit of their being covered with much more than a foot and a half of earth, insomuch that after a very heavy fall of rain some part of them have been known to appear above the ground.[87]

It is little wonder that as the close of each October brought round what was considered the end of the deadly season, the Europeans fortunate enough to find themselves above the ground, met in their respective circles and celebrated their deliverance by a series of large banquets. In June the newspapers gave the public the much needed advice not to eat too much during the hot weather and the moral is pointed by quoting the "recent and awful fate of the Surgeon of an Indiaman, who fell dead after eating a hearty dinner of beef, the thermometer being 98°." [88]

Smallpox was prevalent in Calcutta during this period. On May 4, 1786, the *Gazette* happily reports "a successful instance of inoculation in this climate. This experiment was tried by the managers of the Orphan Society; all children who had not had the disease were inoculated with the result that "fifty-three children who were inoculated have had the disorder, and are now perfectly recovered;" but out of nine who took smallpox the natural way, three died.[89] By the spring of 1788, the government had directed the erection of a hospital at the "airy situation of Dum Dum" for the purpose of providing for smallpox inoculations.[90] In 1789 the *Gazette* expressed regret that the practice of inoculation "is but so little attended to by the natives." For some time past, smallpox had raged with great

87 *Ibid.*
88 *Ibid.*, 167 (citing unknown Calcutta newspaper.)
89 Seton-Karr, *Selections* I, 149.
90 *Ibid.*, 254.

violence in Calcutta and various parts of Bengal with unusual mortality marking its progress.[91]

Influenza was general among the European inhabitants of Calcutta. A medical correspondent recommended to those who could afford it to "drink deep in rosy port, not so as to forget all their care, but so as to guard them against the bad effects of that unwholesome weather which ever attends the breaking up of the rains." [92]

Diseases of a mysterious kind seem to have occasionally appeared and carried off their victims. For example, "we learn that several people have been suddenly carried off within these few days by tumours in the neck, symptoms of a very unusual nature." [93]

Fevers and cholera were prevalent as were fatal stomach ailments which were aggravated by the filth of the city. Minor ailments were also numerous, one of these being the prickly heat which according to William Hickey, greatly annoyed the newcomers. Hickey described the ailment as:

> A sort of rash or eruption upon the skin which is very common in hot countries, expecially in Asia. It is attended with a sharp pricking pain like the point of pins penetrating the body in every part, so that it is difficult to lay down in bed. It is however, considered the sign of vigorous health.[94]

The Calcutta populace was severely handicapped in the matter of health by the low grade surgeons and physicians who came out to Bengal at this time. The business of the undertakers was very profitable and a goodwill of a rainy season was worth half a lakh of rupees—about 5000 pounds sterling.[95]

In conclusion, it may be said that while the climate of lower Bengal was unhealthy and the death rate among the "white" sahibs high, Europeans of all classes, high and low, ambitious and shiftless, honest and dishonest came to the environs of late eighteenth century Calcutta in search of adventure and personal fortune. The result was a fusion of eastern and western cultures, the development of many of the institutions of modern Calcutta, and a consolidation of control by the British East India Company. The high-handed measures employed by the British company together with the teachings of

91 *Ibid.*, II, 200.
92 *Ibid.*, 226.
93 Busteed, *Echoes from Old Calcutta*, 167.
94 Spencer (ed), *Memoirs of William Hickey*, III, 139.
95 Deb, *The Early History and Growth of Calcutta*, 261.

western missionaries and the advance of European customs laid the foundations for the great wave of Indian unrest which broke over the heads of the British in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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THE THEISTIC ROOT OF THE ANTI-MYSTICAL TRADITION IN WESTERN PHILOSOPHY

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Indian philosophy has always been dominated by a mystical tradition. Western philosophy, on the contrary, has been largely anti-mystical. The present paper seeks to show how one of the principal roots of this anti-mystical tradition in Western philosophy has lain in a repudiated and neglected place of spiritual intuition in the West in the field of theistic or religious philosophy, the ground where it has naturally flowered most in the orient.

To understand the very limited role and almost banned status of mystical knowledge in the history of Western religious philosophy, one must realize that theism, if it had to claim any place in Western philosophy, had to accept the assumed and unquestioned rationalism upon which it was based. In the days of Greek philosophy, the theists were philosophers, though they emerged out of religious society, who accepted, or wanted to accept, or somewhere were led to accept religious doctrines of belief. They were naturally called upon to give a philosophical defence of the position they had espoused. Philosophy, however, had almost implicitly concerned itself with the newly discovered 'normal', 'natural' or 'rational' in rebellion against the supernatural and the nonrational. Philosophical theism therefore has always been a rational, scientific or natural theism.

The attempt was thus made either to base theology upon an authoritative gospel believed to be a 'primitive revelation', or to justify a deism on rational grounds deducible from the nature of man and the universe, or, finally, to justify belief in religion or not rational but biologico-psychological and social quasi-rational grounds. Consequently there grew up a great vogue of an approach to religion from the essentially non-religious bases of life. There began to be largely defended a view of religion from the purely 'external' standpoint quite in consonance with the spirit of a merely intellectualistic inquiry that reigned so supreme in that age of rationalism, sensationalism, positivism and scripturalism.

It is true that meanwhile this orientation of religious belief by basing it on rational, natural or authoritarian grounds was being

resisted by a section of religious thinkers who insisted that the basis of religious belief is something quite the opposite of reason and the other natural faculties. They called it a supernatural faculty in man. On this source of knowledge alone, according to them, religion and theology could be securely founded. To this section of theologists belonged two whole groups of thinkers of great importance. One took its lead from the mystics of the Augustinian cloister of St. Victor at Paris Bernard, Hugo, Richard and Walter. To this group belonged Thomas Gallus Bonaventura, Meister Eckhart, Johannes Tauler and Johannes Ruysbroeck. The other group, while agreeing substantially with the Augustinians, was characterised by an adoption of Aristotle's method and operation throughout with Aristotelian conceptions. This group took its lead from Albert of Bollstädt but is named after his pupil Thomas Aquinas who developed and perfected his thought with great comprehensive depth, speculative grasp and critical acumen and whose views have always commanded considerable following, particularly in the Catholic Church. Thomas Aquinas indeed, by virtue of the depth and comprehensive quality of his work, has always been regarded as the greatest spokesman in this whole section of revelational theologists. The knowledge of God which satisfies the soul, he insisted, is neither of faith nor of demonstration but of vision.

This section of thinkers, however, did not belong to the philosopher's camp. They were not professed philosophers. Accordingly a presumption grew that a philosophical basis of religious belief could only be supplied by rational or natural theism, and that opposed to all philiosophical belief in religion there was the theology of mystic revelation, which must consequently be contrary to the philosophical spirit and principles. This presumption obtained an excuse and a sanction, particularly in the teaching of Albert of Bollstädt that philosophical subjects should be treated philosophically and theologically subjects theologically, thus separating the two fields altogether. The separation was further affected by Thomas Aquinas' development and perfection of this distinction between reason and mystic knowledge. Religious truth, according to him, which is essentially revealed truth, may not be contrary to reason, but is beyond reason, and is therefore no object for philosophy. John Duns Scotus carried the Thomistic doctrine still further and narrowed down the sphere of reason to a still greater degree. On the basis of his mathematical studies, he inquired into the nature of real demonstration, and arrived at the conclusion that propositions pertaining to divine nature are not

susceptible of rational demonstration. Revelation is the only source, according to him, of knowledge of God. Hence a clear separation is necessary between revealed theology and philosophy. Theology has its own principles. Its object is the highest object. Hence it has precedence over all the sciences. Philosophy, too, on the other hand, has its own principles and is an independent science, in no way subordinate to or dependent upon theology. This separation and the consequent mutual indifference between revelational theology and philosophy or philosophical, that is to say, natural or rational, theology was even officially recognised by the University of Paris. It decreed that no teacher of philosophy should discuss any specifically theological questions. The separation has since then been accepted by orthodox Christianity, Catholic as well as Protestant.

This separation, as is apparent, was originally made in the interests of mystical theology. But the tables soon turned on this same axle. For, the way was now open for a free and open liberation of philosophy. A golden opportunity now appeared for a demonstration of its autonomous character as independent of mystic doctrine. So the philosophers adopted a clear retort and overwhelmed the mystical theologists by their own weapon. The result was that even though the theologists developed a philosophy of their own, of which a principal part was the mystic theory of knowledge, it was taken no notice of by the professed philosophers. The latter continued and kept themselves to a discussion of rational theism with its fallacious attempt to rationalise religion and its unquestioning implicit assumption of a rationalistic theory of knowledge.

Particularly in Britain, the course of thought after the Reformation retained the supremacy of the intellectual factor in belief. The philosophers of the time, full of fresh vigor as they were at the liberation of philosophy, with the marked exception of Bacon, claimed the supervision of all belief and so of religious belief also. They did not raise the epistemological question. They took a dogmatic stand on reason and demanded a rational basis for the non-rational. Reason was set to work without first asking what the epistemological basis of religion is, as if everybody knew reason was the cure of all ills and to bother about a peculiar nature of religion would be a useless waste of time and energy.

Thus we find that not till the rise of Kantianism do we perceive reason being denied spiritual insight and revelational knowledge, being mentioned specifically among the philosophical theists as the source of religious knowledge. But this was sooner or later bound

to happen. The inadequacy of reason was in the end bound to be noticed. The traditional proofs for the existence of God were after all perceived to be insufficient, while the insufficiency of the so-called 'primitive revelation' was only too apparent. Indeed, whenever the epistemological question is at all raised with reference to the source of religious knowledge, the mystic theory of knowledge must be the inevitable result. Often, of course, the first suggestion which offers itself as most plausible to the rebellious anti-dogmatic questioner as to the basic epistemic grounds of religion would be agnosticism, or, to avoid the difficulties of that position, that evader of epistemic problems, humanistic positivism.

A mystic theory of knowledge in theism had thus its first beginnings with the rise of the epistemic problem in philosophy. Bacon was the only philosopher of importance before Kant who accepted revelation and denied spiritual insight to reason. He was, however, neither clear nor consistent on this point. Moreover, it was necessary to first clear the ground for a fresh philosophical appreciation of religion 'from within' by a critical examination and exposure of the weaknesses and limitations of the externalistic standpoint of reason in the field of religious knowledge.

It was, thus, Kant who, after the ground-clearing had been done by Hume'e Dialogues on Natural Religion and his own Critique of Pure Reason, struck the first mystical note by positing against it what he called by analogy the 'practical reason', the revelation of conscience. But Kant tried to sail on several boats at once. He accepted the Bible as the 'primitive revelation' and also showed great interest in the natural theology of rational theism.

Mansel, too, later, on the basis of Hamilton's sceptical argument, tried to prove that we can know God by revelation as against reason. But what survived Mansel of his teachings was only that part which was acceptable to sceptics like Herbert Spencer who took up the discussion from him. The rest, the part which might have furnished a direction for an epistemological and therefore mystical reorientation of philosophical theism, died with him.

On the whole, thus, the mystic source of knowledge has been out of favour with the Western tradition in the philosophy of religion. It could, therefore, obviously have no place in Western philosophy in general.

SRI AUROBINDO'S THEORY OF INTUITION

Sir,

In the issue of your journal for May, 1948, discussing Sri Aurobindo's Theory of Intuition, Dr. A. C. Das permits himself to make these observations (pp. 60-61):

> "Aurobindo distinguishes between the physical mind, life mind and thinking mind. At first, as he points out, man lives in his physical mind which reveals the physical as the sole reality and identifies objectivity with physicality. In Aurobindo's opinion, physical science is a vast extension of this mentality.....*It is absurd to think that scientific knowledge represents no thinking*.....Clearly Aurobindo *is not very careful* when in different contexts, he distinguishes the different grades of mind or reason." (Italics mine)

I am afraid the writer has missed the significance of Sri Aurobindo's statement that physical science is a vast extension of physical mentality. Who says that scientific knowledge represents no thinking? The physical mind also thinks. It is the nature and result of the thinking that differs. The question is what kind of thinking. Scientific thinking is basically that which views physical objects as the only fundamental reality and all else as its developments. Also, does not the very expression *vast extension* connote development of the physical mind into something larger than its basic sense-mould turning round its original groove of the material existence as the sole reality? It does imply the propelling drive of the thinking mind from within, behind or above, if you will, according to the philosophic basis of your interpretation of the mind's movement, character and progress. The extension of the physical mind is unmistakably the result of this impulsion of the thought-mind. It is obvious that Dr. Das is open to the retort of his own remark that 'he is not very careful'.

Elsewhere in the same article the writer opines that Sri Aurobindo's 'account of the different forms of mind, interesting as it is, is apt to create confusion'. It is well to remember that the human mind is made of a complex web standing as it does on the threshold of the Subliminal which reaches down to the sub-conscient below,

even as it rises to the super-conscient above. Classifications of the different layers of the mind have perforce to vary with the justifying bases of the psychology that constitute the foreground as well as the background of the observing consciousness. Confusion is bound to result from ignoring the import of the terms used in *different contexts*.

I trust the above reply will be published in the next issue of your esteemed journal.

Thanking you,

Yours, etc.

M. P. PANDIT

Sri Aurobindo Asram, Pondicherry.

Reply to Mr. M. P. Pandit's rejoinder

I have read with care Mr. M. P. Pandit's rejoinder. But I cannot quite understand what he seeks to make there. In the passage at issue I point out that the division—the physical-mind, the life-mind and the thinking-mind does not warrant the statement that physical science is a vast extension of the activity of the physical mind. Physical science has obviously been developed through thinking. Now if we adopt the above division and maintain that physical science is based upon the functioning of the physical mind, we have to admit that physical science involves no thinking. Physical science either involves thinking or involves no thinking. Now, if physical science involves thinking, physical science is linked to the physical mind. Again, if physical science involves no thinking, physical science can well be linked to the physical mind. But it is not true to say that physical science involves no thinking. If we, however, say in the same breath that physical science is an extension of physical mentality and that physical science involves thinking, we commit the fallacy of overlapping division. This is all that I hint at in the brief statement on which Mr. Pandit joins issue with me. He himself admits that physical science involves thinking, and in fact goes a step further and asserts that the physical mind also thinks. If the physical mind also thinks, *i.e.*, if the physical mind is the thinking mind, what purpose on earth, I wonder, does Sri Aurobindo's division—the physical-mind, the life-mind, and the thinking-mind serve. I do think the interpretation Mr. Pandit puts upon his master's view of the physical-mind in relation to physical science makes confusion worse confounded.

On the other hand, if it is that the physical-mind, the life-mind, and the thinking-mind only indicate three different levels at which one and the same mind functions, the division is unfortunate and is apt, as Mr. Pandit himself admits, to create confusion in the mind of the reader. It is verily to this confusion that I call attention in the passage under consideration. Further, even if we admit that the physical-mind, the life-mind, and the thinking-mind, represent three levels of experience, one level is not inclusive of another, although they may be connected with one another in some other way. That is why the level of the physical-mind can by no means involve anything of the level of the thinking-mind.

Mr. Pandit is perhaps under the impression that Sri Aurobindo is infallible and, for that matter, above all confusion and error. I wish I could think like this. But the point at issue gives me pause.

ADHAR CHANDRA DAS

Round The World

American Elections—

We deliberately postponed commenting on the American elections which were held early in November and which took such an unexpected and surprising turn. It had been confidently expected that the Democrats would be shown the door and the Republicans would occupy without much of a resistance all the seats of authority and power in the country. Apart from the prophecy of Dr. Gallup and his team there were the results of the Congressional elections of 1946 in which the Republicans had secured a majority in both houses of the federal legislature at Washington. These results were known to indicate the direction of the political wind in the U. S. A. Nor was this trend towards the right unexpected. The Democrats had been continuously in power since the elections of 1932. Possibly there would have been the traditional swing of the pendulum by 1940. But the War in Europe, the impending War in the Pacific and the personality of Franklin Roosevelt belied the traditional expectations and made possible the continuance of Democratic rule for the next four years. In 1944 again the U. S. A. was in the thick of the global war and it was thought unwise to change horses in mid-stream. The Democrats were consequently given another lease of life. But the death of Roosevelt shortly after his fourth inauguration and the end of the War both in European and Pacific fronts a few months later strengthened the ranks of those who were discontented with the long reign of the Democratic Party and desired a change in the political complexion of the Administration. Vice-President Truman who now stepped into the White House had also not the stature and the personality which might stem the tide of decline in Democratic prestige. In fact, as it has been stated above, the mid-term elections of 1946 lent colour to the popular belief that the swing in the pendulum had started and would end in the election of a Republican to the Presidency in 1948. But the results of the contest in November have disconcerted all calculations and proved all prophecies false.

The Presidential election was complicated on this occasion not only by the emergence of Henry Wallace as a third party candidate but also by Mr. Thurmond standing for the Presidency as a dissident Democrat on behalf of the reactionary elements in some of the Southern states where the support of the official Democratic candidate had been taken for granted in all previous contests. Both Wallace and Thurmond were expected to take a slice out of Democratic support and thereby decimate the ranks of voters for the official Democratic candidate. An ardent new dealer and enthusiastic supporter of Roosevelt, Wallace was regarded by

the conservative Democrats as too liberal and progressive. Vice-President in the third term of Roosevelt's Presidency, he could not be chosen as the Party candidate for that office in 1944 and that way he was deprived of the chance which Truman got in 1945 of becoming the head of the Commonwealth after Roosevelt's death. He could not also remain in the Cabinet when Roosevelt was no more. Out of it, he made himself the editor of the Nation and launched on a campaign for liberalising American opinion both in internal and external affairs. Inside the Democratic Party he found little support and thought that his chances either of personal promotion to the Chief Magistracy or of changing the trends of opinion in the country in some important and vital matters would be improved by his leaving the Democratic fold and forming a party of his own. On behalf of it he stood as a Presidential candidate in the last election. Southern Democrats who as a rule stand for white supremacy in their states had for years not been friendly towards the Democrats who held ascendancy in Washington. Under Roosevelt they were supposed to be too liberal and pro-Negro. Truman who is more right-wing in outlook and temper might have been acceptable to them but for the civil rights question on which he stood firm. He was absolutely opposed to the denial of a fair deal to the black population. So the Southern whites set up a Democratic candidate of their own choice to fight the Presidential election. The candidate selected was J. S. Thurmond of South Carolina, the land of Calhoun. Gunther wants us to believe that he "is a distinct liberal." This may, however, sound paradoxical. In any event the fact is that Thurmond's candidature would make another substantial indent on Truman's support in the country.

Inspite of the difficulties Truman faced, he secured the support of the majority of primary voters and had on his side the absolute majority of electoral votes. Thurmond actually secured 38 electoral voters of some of the Southern states. These were Democratic votes and would have been in normal circumstances cast in favour of Truman. The latter could not also carry the state of New York with its largest electoral strength. Even then Truman managed to secure a majority. This is explained by the great support he received in many states which were taken either as absolutely Republican or at best as doubtful. It is true that in popular support Dewey ran Truman very closely, so much so that for long people were on the tenter hooks as to the final result. A similar situation arose in 1916 when Wilson was fighting Hughes for the Presidency. At the start so favourable were the in-coming polling results for Hughes that he actually went to bed with the impression that he was going to be President of his country. Wilson also retired the same night with the overwhelming sense of defeat. But next morning the results dashed the hopes of one and removed the despondency of the other. Wilson was returned for the

second time to the White House. Although Dewey ran neck to neck, in reality the country's opinion had in the last stages of Presidential campaigning become clear cut and definite and that in favour of Truman and his Party. Even trained and experienced observers might not have noticed this slow but steady swing of public opinion but this was a fact. Otherwise the return not only of Truman to the Presidency but that of the Democratic candidates to the Governorships and Legislatures cannot be properly explained. In the Congress, the majority which the Democrats had lost in 1946 has been regained. In fact in the House of Representatives the Democrats have now 240 out of 435 seats. In the Senate also the Democratic majority is absolute and unchallenged.

Now how is this swing of opinion towards the Democratic Party in the last stages to be explained? Evidently such opinion was pro-Republican in the previous three years. How was it then that the current suddenly stopped and started flowing back? Much has been said in this regard about Dewey's unimaginative leadership. Never a vivacious personality, he could not inspire even those people who had decided to vote Republican. Once he was chosen as the Presidential candidate by his Party Convention, he was cocksure as to his succession to the Presidency in January and gave airs accordingly. He forgot that the most important hurdle was still to be crossed and for that vigorous efforts were necessary. He was misled by the previous indications of Republican support in the country and thought that the struggle was over. It was for him now to sit on his oars and allow the tide to take his boat to the harbour. He did not know that the tide might turn and take him headlong on to a rock. Compared to the easy happy-go-luckytype of electoral campaign by Dewey, Truman's efforts were untired and non-stop. He worked like a man possessed. Ignoring all the signs of popular indifference towards him he worked on with that optimism and steadiness which won over many of the doubters to his side. His campaign chest was empty, demands of radio corporations were inexorable and non-cooperation of the money-changers and stock dealers in Wall Street was complete. His electoral managers were at their wit's end. But he carried on with whatever financial support was available. This fight against odds must have roused the latent chivalry of the American people. They rallied round his banner. Again, he stuck unflinchingly to his emphasis on civil rights for all and this inspite of the threat of the Southern whites to withdraw their support from him and cast their votes in favour of a rival Democratic candidate. They carried out the threat but Truman stuck to his gun and kept the civil rights prominently on his platform. This not only brought over to him the votes of the Negroes who usually support a Republican candidate for historical reasons but also the votes of those white liberals who might have otherwise either refrained from voting or supported Wallace.

But the great stand Truman took and the complacency which Dewey showed were not the only elements in the campaign, which ensured success to the Democratic Party. There were other two important factors to be counted in this regard. The first of them was the attitude of the Labour organisations. It should be borne in mind in this connection that these bodies have not ordinarily any political complexion. Their members vote as they desire. It is true that the members of the American Federation of Labour are generally conservative in temper and outlook and those of the Congress of Industrial Organisations are progressive and go-ahead. But this apart, none of the bodies have any political affiliation. Nor do they as a rule take part in political activities. Both, however, would regard the right to have the Unions of the Workers' own choosing as a vital privilege, to agree to abandon which would be suicidal. This right was conferred upon the workers by the Democratic Congress at the instance of Roosevelt's New Deal Government a dozen years ago. But the Taft-Hartley Act which was passed sometime ago over the President's veto roused the ire of the workers and threw a large body of them into definite opposition to the Republican Party. They must have been greatly instrumental in securing for Truman the majority of votes in the election. This is of course not the first instance of organised workers giving support to a candidate for a political office. In 1944 a Political Action Committee was set up in the bosom of the C. I. O. in order to canvass support for Roosevelt's fourth term. Organised workers turned the scale of the election on that occasion as much as they did last November.

The second factor to which reference has been made above was the changing attitude of the common people in the United States. In 1946 it seemed that they were not entertaining any fear as to the implications of Republican electoral victory. The War had no doubt taken its toll of American lives, but otherwise it had stimulated general prosperity and a sense of power in the country. People were then in a mood of optimism and had no hesitation in supporting a Party affiliated to big business. But in the subsequent two years when price control was relaxed and prices of articles deemed necessary went up, they became perplexed. They felt that everything was not good in the state of Denmark, that heart-searching was necessary and that it might be unwise to withdraw from Democratic moorings. The propaganda which Wallace had carried on in the country might not have converted them to his way of thinking but must have softened and mellowed their temper and threw them increasingly away from Wall Street jurisdiction. This change must have taken place very slowly, and even imperceptibly, so much so that very few observers noticed it and far less recorded it. Possibly without some external stimulus this change in outlook might not have any effect on the election. But spurred on by the vigorous work of organised labour, it made itself felt at the election time.

As a result of the elections one career has been blasted and rightly. Dewey has been given two chances by his Party and he has failed to avail either. With the failure in November he has gone for good out of the arena for Presidential contest. It has been found that even in the best of circumstances he could not appeal to the imagination of the people. It is, therefore, unlikely that he will be again chosen the Party nominee. He has vigour, tenacity and great capacity for steady work. This he has shown both as District Attorney and as Governor of the Empire State. But the President requires some other virtues as well. Dewey has not that outlook and that experience of men and things in wider spheres, which are an asset to the President. It may be expected that when his term as Governor expires he will be absorbed in some big industrial establishment where his talent will be of use. As for Wallace, he had certainly not counted on victory. Possibly he had looked forward to wider and larger support than he has actually received. But the number of men voting for him is no index of the influence he has exerted. He must have saturated the mind of many more people with liberal ideals. So his mission is not over. In fact it has only started. In the Congress itself there can be no figure to take up the role of the Opposition leader in the British House of Commons. In the absence of the Government from the legislature the opposition in U.S.A. performs duties which cannot be compared with those of the Opposition in the British Parliament. So the role may be assumed by some worthy man outside in the country. Besides democracy in the U. S. A. is so advanced as to make the position of an independent public man outside the Congress as important and effective. In fact inside the Congress a man like Wallace would be too pre-occupied with routine duties of the legislature to be of much use in leading a movement of liberalism in the country. It is our hope that Mr. Wallace will not be disheartened by the smallness of support he has received in his Presidential campaign and will continue to run his crusade against every reactionary element in American life.

President Truman must be feeling both happy and lucky. He is happy not only with the results of the election but with the thought that he is himself very largely the author of the victory he has achieved. He feels lucky because it was only by chance that he was given the Party nomination at Philadelphia. Most members of the Convention had a poor idea of his ability and personality. He was not regarded as being of the Presidential timber. But strong personalities could not be attracted. General Eisenhower, for instance, was sounded but he was unwilling to accept the honour. He evidently thought that this was in every sense a Republican year and the Democratic nominee had no chance of winning. Why then should he leave the placid cloister of the Columbia University to court only disappointment in the Presidential campaign? So Truman got the nomination only because it was taken for granted that he would

have no chance of going back to the White House. Now that what was hopeless has actually come true, people must be eager to know as to how he acquits himself in his second term. His new policy, if he has any, will not of course be unfolded until his inauguration in January. But it seems that possibly even after the assembling of the new Congress he will continue the existing bi-partisan arrangement in foreign affairs. There is really no difference between the two Parties in regard to their attitude towards important world issues today except in respect of the priority of emphasis on one or another point. In view of this the system which Roosevelt started and which has worked well during the last few years may not possibly be disturbed. In respect of internal affairs, it is expected that the Republicans will receive some hard knocks after the new Congress meets. Taft-Hartley Act will possibly be repealed and new measures will be taken regarding price control. As for the improvement in the position of the Negroes, it is doubtful if anything will be done at once in that direction. Gradually, however, both by legislation and administrative action there may be amelioration in their status and conditions of life. In regard to Palestine, there will certainly be no resiling from the position taken up by Truman in recognising the new state of Israel. Many at the time thought that it was only an election stunt. But such recognition came not merely out of desire to get Jewish votes in New York but also out of deep sympathy for the Jewish cause. In view of it, it may be expected that steady diplomatic and material help may flow to Israel from the United States.

Truman may not be a great personality like Roosevelt or Wilson. But it may be assumed that he will not be a non-entity like Harding or an unimaginative drudge like Coolidge. He may not be as progressive in outlook as Wallace but the election has proved that when he insists on any reform, he sticks to it whatever may be the cost. So the Liberals need not be disheartened. Possibly during the next four years his chief contribution will be the set-back to the onrush of Republican jingoism. That will be no mean gain to the world.

Abolition of Untouchability—

" Untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of Untouchability shall be an offence punishable in accordance with law." This was one of the clauses included in fundamental rights adopted by the Constituent Assembly at New Delhi. This should be the final death-blow to a social system which inspite of hard knocks in recent years has still persisted in many nooks and corners of India. No body can say precisely when this evil system came to disfigure Indian society. It is, however, assumed by all that it has existed since practically the dawn of history in this conntry. We do not also know the causes which brought forth such an irrational

custom. There might be reasons of race or of profession or both involved in this regard. Possibly the untouchables belonged to a defeated and hated race. Possibly they carried on a profession which was looked down upon. In any event in early history we have evidence of this that people engaged in certain activities were allowed to live only in the outskirts of a village or town. The custom flourished particularly in centuries during which men's mind in India was dominated more by forms than by substance of knowledge. During this period men's outlook had been narrowed and their thoughts ossified. Along with many other evil customs untouchability also grew apace during that period of intellectual and spiritual somnolence. But in the Nineteenth century when a new intellectual awakening set in and men's mind was to some extent liberated from the shackles of old superstitions, a few great minds turned against the custom of untouchability. Swami Vivekanand was among these pioneers to start a crusade against the treatment of one man as untouchable by another. He lived among the untouchables himself and tried to set an example. But he was a sanyasin and what a holy man could do a worldly man could not necessarily imitate. So, much could not be done towards the removal of disabilities of the untouchable classes. But the Swami succeeded in awakening the conscience of a large section of the people. They might not actively treat the untouchables on a basis of equality. But intellectually they were convinced that the system was bad and must disappear sooner or later. Swamiji died young. But his mission did not die with him. His fellow workers continued their activities after his death. So the ground was largely prepared for the massive blows that Gandhiji hurled against the system for more than twentyfive years. The citadel has now been stormed but resistance still lingers in places. It is hoped that with the first operation of the new Constitution it also will be eliminated. One of the important bastions of shackled and backward India will thus disappear.

Women Have Attained Majority—

Under the new Constitution women will have the fundamental right of not being discriminated against on the ground of sex and will have full equality of opportunity in matters of employment under the State. This provision indicates the kind of progress that India has made during the last fifty years. Even at the close of the last century strange ideas about the position of women in society were entertained practically throughout the country. Education for them was a matter of heated controversy. Women of Hindu households could hardly think of going to schools and colleges. But the Swadeshi movement in Bengal which came in the wake of the partition of the province by Lord Curzon stimulated not only considerable political activity but brought about social awakening on a large scale. No great movement can remain confined only to one aspect

of activity. It has its effect on men in all human relationships. They cannot be discontented with the Government without being dissatisfied with outmoded social customs. The War of 1914-18 increased the discontent which had been created by the Swadeshi movement and paved the way for the Non-Co-operation Movement which Gandhiji inaugurated in 1920. He called women as much as men to the service of the nation and the response was tremendous. Women who had never been out of the *purdah* now not only attended meetings and picketted grogue shops but courted imprisonment. This political consciousness on their part was followed by an unheard of expansion of education among them. The progress thus stimulated was given a further impetus by the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1930-34. During this struggle the response of women was far greater than in 1920-22. Their movement was also now freer. Then came the Second World War and the Do or Die Movement of 1942. Both had tremendous repercussions in the country. Old social traditions which had already been modified to a great extent by previous movements were now transformed in many aspects. Women's status has improved many-fold. Though the Rau Committee's recommendations have not yet been given effect to and the conservatives are fighting them in the last ditch, women no longer have any inferiority complex. The Constituent Assembly has only recognised the change which has been already brought about in society by including in the chapter on fundamental rights the clauses referred to above.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Eyes of Light—By Dilip Kumar Roy. Nalanda Publications, Dhan Nur Building, Sir Pherozshah Road, Bombay. Price Rs. 4.

Sri Dilip Kumar Roy who is now living in retirement at Sri Aurobindo Ashram at Pondicherry is well-known to Indian readers both as author and as musician. Although this work embodying poems in English is the first of its kind by its author to be published as an independent volume, readers would remember to have read and enjoyed some of his lyrics which appeared from time to time in *The Statesman*, *The Horizon* and other journals. It may very well be asked why an Indian should write in English and deliberately court a contrast by which he is bound to suffer when the choice is open to him to write in his own language, which being Bengali in the present case could vie in expressiveness with any of the world's great Languages. Sri Aurobindo suggests that the denial of adequate welcome to poems in English written by Indians is the result of a certain measure of insularity and that proper appreciation will come with the growth of an international mind among the English people. The true explanation, however, sems to be an entirely different one. Foreigners can very rarely master the implications of a language which they learn at an advanced age. Living among those who are to the manner born from childhood would solve the problem for a foreigner and he would be able to enter into the soul of a language when he has such an experience to aid his efforts. A poet whose main business is with the language in which he is writing starts with a handicap if the medium he chooses is a foreign language and his personal brilliance can hardly compensate for the initial disadvantage he suffers.

Dilip Kumar Roy's handling of his medium is, however, not an illustration of the remarks made above. For although the limitation appears in some passages, there are others which are more numerous in which we see true excellence attained. The poems are written mainly in the romantic tradition and Dilip Kumar Roy does not apparently set himself to imitate or exploit the manner made familiar to readers of English poetry by symbolists, imagists and surrealists. To-day even the appeal of Georgean peetry sounds a little remote and if we go a little farther back in search of our model or inspiration, we are likely to find ourselves without an audience. Such has been the change of taste although it is quite legitimate to return to the seventeenth century and resolve the contradiction between emotion and ratiocination with the help of the examples supplied by the metaphysical poets.

Some of the mystical poems of Dilip Kumar Roy suggest that he has read with profit Donne, Quarles and others. The validity of the mystical appeal depends upon the validity of the mystical experience and although in a piece of literary criticism it is somewhat risky to pronounce any opinion on the subject, it is perhaps fairly correct to hold that Dilip Kumar Roy's attitude all through is more devotional than mystical.

The book will certainly occupy a reader pleasantly for a little time. Although the praise does not sound enthusiastic, there are not many books to-day about which the same thing can be said honestly. The language in the hands of Dilip Kumar Roy does not attain to any extraordinary malleability nor to any sublimity of expression but it has rich cadence and distinction.

S. C. SEN

Are We Two Nations? Nationalities in Indian Politics.—By M. S. Vairanapillai, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Herbert Milton, Williams Lane, Lahore. Price Rs. 6-8-0, Sh. 10, $ 4.

The need of such a book before the partition of India was immense; the author deserves our congratulations for his painstaking studies into the much vexed question which agitated the whole continent of India near about a quarter of a century leading ultimately to its division. Though the mischief is done, prudence still whispers that it is not too late; sanity prompts that we must be on the alert for the right moment to fuse the various groups of our Indian people into one nation. A dispassionate study of available materials shows that there is more evidence of unity than of disunity, that the apparent disunity is due more to distance and the lack of communication than anything else and that these obstacles are fast disappearing.

The reader will find the book full of information on many topics which have come into prominence after the achievement of independence. The doctrinaire will find that his ideas regarding purity of races have long become a myth and that purity of race is rather a disadvantage in a world which respects no complexes.

M. B. B.

Some Aspects of Indian War Economics.—By M. S. Natarajan, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Padma Publications, Baroda. Price Rs. 5.

Dr. Natarajan, in this illuminating book, gives us official figures of India's economic condition embracing all fields of her activities, agriculture, industry finance and foreign trade and succeeds in clearly bringing out an accurate picture of war shattered India, which requires a scientific plan for her reconstruction. The Indian population is increasing at the alarming rate

of half a crore a year, whereas her food, instead of increasing, has decreased, the total deficit coming to 15 million tons per year. This is certain to spell disaster unless this gap can be bridged. Pre-war India's trade condition has undergone a transformation for the worse. Her industries need thorough overhauling. Her national Government must rise to the occasion and remedy all these ills.

"PEREGRINE PICKLE"

Federation Versus Freedom.—By B. R. Ambedkar M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., M.L.A., Published by Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. Price Re. 1.

The Government of India Act of 1935 will remain documentary evidence for future historians who will attempt a thorough study of the various instruments on the basis of which the Indian patriots, assembled at the Indian Constituent Assembly, drafted the constitution. Dr. Ambedkar's treatise supplies reasons why the federation as proposed in the Act of 1935 failed to function. In short, the book will be of immense help to future constitutional historians of India.

Caste and Outcaste.—By J. E. Sanjanar. Published by Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Rs. 6·4.

Written in 1946, when the questions of caste differences and of Hindu-Muslim disunity were threatening Indian unity, the author treats this controversial subject with admirable impartiality and discusses whether the claims of Caste Hindus can stand scrutiny.

J. N. MITRA

"Blood and Stones".—By K. Ahmad Abbas, Published by Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 48. Price Re. 1.

In clear, simple language the author of "Blood and Stones" gives us a description of the horrors of communal rioting in Bombay subsequent to Independence. The reactions of the sensitive hero, Nirmal, accurately reflect the emotions of the common man-nausea at the sight of blood, repulsion at the thought of women gloating over murder, fear of penetrating dangerous localities, disgust when communalism pervades even Peace Brigade Executive Committees, and despair that "the patriotic traditions of a hundred years had been betrayed and defiled."

Though the style is good, the defects of the plot are obvious. It is too thin. Even the average reader would wonder whether he could not concoct a better story with the same material. For instance, if Bharati had been kidnapped by a goonda, the story would have been exciting. The author relates how a sensitive journalist runs away from Bombay to Ajanta with his wealthy lady-friend Bharati in order to forget the horrible scenes of butchery he had just witnessed. He gets lost in the caves and in a dream holds a conversation with a monk of Ajanta. When he wakes

up comforted, he realises that his duty is to return alone and face reality in Bombay. The curtain shows artistic finish. "In the train a fellow passenger asked 'Have you been to Ajanta'? and Nirmal replied 'No, but I am going *towards* Ajanta'."

The reader wonders whether Bharati could not have accompanied Nirmal to Bombay as his wife so that his ability and her money could have been utilised for spreading communal harmony.

"Blood and Stones" is a useful propaganda pamphlet for schools and public libraries. It is a good antidote to communal poison.

"YOLINI"

Ourselves

Vice-Chancellor on UNESCO

The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, who had been to Lebanon to attend the UNESCO Conference which was held at Beirut came back to Calcutta last month. On return he delivered two speeches in the University, in course of which he recounted his experiences of the visit. The first lecture was delivered in the Darbhanga Library Hall under the auspices of the World Economic Society of the University. The second he delivered when Post-Graduate teachers met him at tea on the 15th December.

India, he said, could very well be proud of her connection with the UNESCO. In the U.N.O. India was no doubt playing an important part but she had up till now been kept out of the Security Council which was the basic organ of that body. But in the Executive Committee of the UNESCO India had already had a seat and in the present year this Committee would be headed by the leader of the Indian delegation, Professor Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan. This was a great honour and source of prestige for this country. There was a misconception that India's contribution to this organisation was considerable and that there was no proportional return for such expenses. Actually India contributed only 3.94 per cent. of the UNESCO's expenses while the U. S. A. contributed 38.93 per cent. and Britain 13.83 per cent. Hitherto the reconstruction work which this body had undertaken was confined to the war-devastated areas alone. But now due to efforts of the Indian delegation it was decided that these activities would be extended to other undeveloped areas including India.

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His Observations on Arab Countries

The Arab countries, particularly Syria and Lebanon, have made great progress both culturally and materially. Nowhere in these countries was noticeable that squalid poverty which shames us in this holy land of ours. Their outlook is also no longer narrow and cramped. The theocratic ideal which we as a rule associate with Islam has been largely replaced by nationalist principles. In view of

this the sympathy of the Arabs is largely with India which is building up a secular state and not very much with those Pakistanis who are crying for an Islamic state in which the faithfuls alone will monopolise power. Unfortunately while the Pakistan Government is doing widespread propaganda work in all Arab countries, our case is largely going by default. It is necessary that our Information Service should be more up and doing in the Arab world than hitherto. It was really strange that while hundreds of press correspondents were present at Beirut during the Session of the UNESCO Conference, not a single Indian newspaper was represented there. This is a kind of indifference which may cost us dear.

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SILVER JUBILEE SESSION OF INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

The Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held on the 23rd, 24th and 25th December last. Dr. N. K. Sinha is the University's representative on the Research and Publications Committee of the Commission and as such an Associate Member of the Commission. Professor D. N. Banerjee was also appointed a University delegate to the Commission.

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ALL INDIA COMMERCE CONFERENCE

This Conference was held at the Senate House on the invitation of the University on 23rd, 24th and 25th December last. The Vice-Chancellor was the Chairman of the Reception Committee and Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, its Secretary.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Notification No. C/2156/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that the Governor of West Bengal has been pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Narasinha Datta College, Howrah, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Mathematics and Chemistry to the B.A. and B.Sc. (Honours) standard with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

Senate House,
The 8th October, 1948.

Notification No. C. 2387/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 22 read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the P. K. College, Contai, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Bengali (Second Language) to the I.A. and B.A. (Pass) standards with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

Senate House,
The 24th Nov., 1948.

Notification No. C/2372/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universitits Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49 the Fakirchand College, Diamond Harbour, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, Logic, History, Civics, Mathematics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping, to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

Senate House,
The 20th Nov., 1948.

Notification No. C/2374/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 22, read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Zoology to the B.Sc. (Pass) standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

Senate House,
The 20th Nov., 1948.

Notification No. C/2378/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 22, read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Krishnagar College shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard and in History and Mental and Moral Philosophy to the B.A. (Hons.) standard, with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.)

Senate House,
The 20th Nov., 1948.

Notification No. C/2381/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49 the Garbeta College, Midnapore, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, History, Logic, Civics, Mathematics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. Standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar (Offg.).

Senate House,
The 24th Nov., 1948.

Notification No. C. 2390/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under section 22 read with sub-section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act, (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Dhanamanjari College, Imphal, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Civics, Alternative English, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. Standard and in English, Manipuri (Vernacular) History, Mental and Moral Philosophy and Political Economy and Political Philosophy to the B.A. (Pass) Standard with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

S. C. Ghosh,
Registrar, (Offg.).

Senate House
The 24th Nov., 1948.

Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate, dated 19th November, 1948.

90. Reports from Professor E. A. Burtt, Professor S. K. Maitra and Professor A. C. Mukherji on their adjudication of the thesis entitled ' Some Mystics and Aspects

of Mysticism in Modern India ' submitted by Mrs. Sobharani Basu, M.A., in support of her candidature for admission to the D. Litt. degree.

Resolved—That the reports be adopted and the candidate be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Literature and that her name together with the title of her thesis be notified in the Calcutta Review.

A. P. Dasgupta,
Controller (Offg.).

HUMANITARIAN TRUST STUDENTSHIP IN PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW:

Notice

The Electors to the Humanitarian Trust Studentship in Public International Law give notice that an election to the Studentship will be made early in 1949.

Applications must reach the Secretary of the Faculty Board of Law, at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, not later than 1st January, 1949.

The conditions of award are published in the Reporter, 20th January, 1948, p. 627, Supplementary Ordinances (1948), p. 1009.

Regulations of the Humanitarian Trust Fund Studentship in Public International Law

1. Candidates must produce evidence that they have obtained, or are likely to obtain, before the end of the academical year of their candidature a Degree or Diploma at a University or College in the British Commonwealth and Empire, the United States of America, the Continent of Europe, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, or at any other University or College approved by the Electors. They must also produce evidence of their fitness to engage in advanced study.

2. Candidates for the Studentship must have been under the age of thirty-two years on the first day of January, 1949.

3. The value of the Studentship is £ 400 a year. If a student holds, or is elected to, another emolument, the value of the Studentship may be reduced by such amount as the Electors may determine.

2. The Electors may grant an allowance to cover, in whole or in part, the expenses of travel to and from Cambridge of a student ordinarily resident overseas.

5. The Studentship is not tenable with a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship, or a College Fellowship or emolument of similar value.

6. The Electors may prolong the tenure of the current holder of the Studentship for a period not exceeding one year.

7. The studentship will be awarded subject to the student being or becoming a member of the University. The student will be required to come into residence at the beginning of the Michaelmas Term following his election, subject to dispensation by the Electors for good cause.

8. The student shall pursue a course of study under the supervision of the Whewell Professor.

9. The student may not during his tenure be a candidate for the Degree of LL.B. or for the Whewell Scholarship, but may be a candidate for a higher degree or for a Diploma in Public International Law.

10. The student shall keep terms by residence, provided that after one term of residence he may be allowed by the Electors to reside elsewhere for a specified period, if it is in the interest of his work that he should do so.

In view of the lateness of the date at which this notice will be received, applications will be accepted up to the 15th February, 1949.

STUDENTENSCHAFT DER UNIVERSITAT MUNCHEN.

To the University of Calcutta,

At last we are again able to invite foreign students to study at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universitat Munche. We should be happy if we could welcome some students of your University at the beginning of the winter term 1948-49.

Our University consists of 7 faculties:—

The Faculty of Theology
The Faculty of Law
The Faculty of Political and Social Sciences
The Faculty of Medical Science
The Faculty of Veterinary Science
The Faculty of Liberal Arts
The Faculty of Natural Sciences

The winter term 1948-49 will begin on September 27, 1948, and will end on December 22, 1948. The lectures will be read in German. Enclosed we send you a Bullettin of information.

We should be glad if German students, too, could study some terms at your University. In case of such an exchange of students we should try, as far as possible, to house the students with the respective families. We should very much welcome if you could make similar arrangements. Please write us your proposals as to the financial side of the study.

Yours most respectfully,
Sd. Illegible
(Anton Buckel)
First Chairman.

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IN THE FIELD OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH*

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FELLOW-WORKERS AND FRIENDS,

I thank you heartily for inviting me to preside over the learned deliberations of Section II of the present session of the Indian History Congress. I am no doubt conscious of my own limitations ; but I feel that your decision was actuated by your kind appreciation of the small work that this humble fellow-student of yours has done in the field of research in India's history and culture under the auspices of the University of Calcutta. I am sure of your good wishes and co-operation and am quite confident that the work of our section will be a complete success. I offer a most cordial welcome to all scholars, investigators and lovers of Indian history whom I am glad to see around me today.

Our section is designed to cover roughly the period of Indian history from the eighth to the twelfth century. I am really glad to find that the organisers of the Congress did not fix the later limit at 916 A.D. which, according to some eminent writers of today, is the demarcating line between the ancient and medieval periods of the history of India. It is believed that in that year the Pratihāras of Northern India moved towards decline as a result of a staggering Rāshṭrakūṭa blow in course of a tripartite struggle for the occupation of Kanauj. As a matter of fact, however, 916 A.D. does not appear to have witnessed any extraordinary event that may be regarded as marking an epoch in our history. The above theory is actually based on a wrong idea about the date and effect of the raid on Kanauj by

* Address delivered as Sectional President, Indian History Congress, held in December, 1948.

Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III whose accession and death are assigned respectively to the years 915 and 917 A.D. There is, however, evidence to show that Indra III continued to rule as late as 927 A.D., while there is hardly any reason to ascribe his Kanauj expedition to any particular year of his reign. The complete destruction of Kanauj by Indra is, moreover, an exaggerated claim based on a play on the word *kuśa-sthala* meaning 'the city of Kanauj' as well as 'a field covered by *kuśa* grass'. That it was not an extraordinary event in the long struggle between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras is proved by the fact that the latter continued to rule from Kanauj for another century to come. It may also be pointed out in this connection that the theory about the so-called "tripartite struggle for the occupation of Kanauj which had acquired a halo of imperialism like Delhi in later days" involves certain unproved guesses. The expression 'tripartite' ignores the contribution of the Āyudha group of Kanauj kings in the struggle amongst the Pālas, Pratihāras and Rāshṭrakūṭas. Again, the struggle between the Pratihāras and Rāshṭrakūṭas could hardly have been one for the occupation of Kanauj, as it started with the foundation of the two imperial houses in the middle of the eighth century long before the Pratihāra occupation of that city. It is again not easy to prove that Kanauj acquired a halo of imperialism before the age of the Pratihāras.

The organisers of the Congress were right in fixing the period covered by our section between c. 711 and c. 1206 A.D. It begins with the Arab conquest of Sind and Multan and ends with the Turkish occupation of Northern India. But you know that history, which raises us above time, race and environs and enables us to move in the company of the mighty minds of different ages and countries as well as with the waves of great political and cultural movements, is a continuous process. The history of the period covered by our section is not only inseparably related to the problems of other periods of Indian history but has also to be regarded as a part of the history of the world. It is wellknown that the more is our contact with this broader context the abler are we to view a historical problem in its true perspective and to present it without missing any of the real issues. That the currents of Indian history cannot be isolated from the rest of the world is clearly demonstrated by the period with which we have to deal today. The most important fact in this period of Indian history is, as is wellknown, the Muslim success in India to the north of the peninsula of the Deccan. But it can hardly be isolated from such facts of Asiatic history as the rise of the Arabs under the

influence of Islam and the Arab conquest of Persia in the first half of the seventh century, the contest between the Arabs and the Chinese for supremacy in Central Asia (comprising the Northern part of the Uttarāpatha division of India) which ended in the ultimate victory of the former and to the conversion of most Central Asian tribes to Islam in the eighth century, the Arab conquest of Kabul about 870 A.D., and the establishment of the power of Turkish Musalmans in Afghanistan in the tenth century. The success of the Arabs was no doubt the most potent cause that induced many Indian kings of the seventh and eighth centuries to seek help of and send ambassadors to the T'ang imperial court of China. The notable amongst these monarchs, as you know, were Harshavardhana (641 A.D.) and Yaśovarman (731 A.D.) of Kanauj, Chandrāpīḍa (713 A.D.) and Muktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya (733 A.D.) of Kashmir, Pallava Narasiṃhavarman II (720 A.D.) of Kāñchī and a king of Orissa (795 A.D.). On the other hand, the Muslim conquest of Northern India about the beginning of the thirteenth century not only led to the subjugation of the Deccan at a later epoch but actually shaped the subsequent course of the history of the entire Indian sub-continent. Another case partially in point is the great struggle between the imperial powers—one to the north and the other to the south of the Tungabhadra—which characterises our period but can be traced from the seventh to far into the medieval age.

It is sometimes regarded as a custom for sectional presidents of the Congress to discuss in their addresses the general currents of Indian history covered by particular sections. As, however, these are more or less wellknown to all of you, I hesitate to take your valuable time with a rather uninteresting topic like that. Sometimes an attempt is found to be made in the addresses at a brief survey of the work done during the previous year by various scholars with reference to a period in question. But such a survey, without proper evaluation of the contributions of individual authors, can hardly be regarded as very useful. A periodical survey, tempered with appreciation and criticism, is, however, not only expected to provide some sort of guidance for young research workers but is essentially necessary for maintaining a high standard of historical research in our country. Unfortunately it is not always very easy to do. I have examined some of the works (including papers and reviews published in the periodicals, proceedings of learned associations and certain special publications) that have recently come out and am really very sorry to admit that, whereas some of them are actually very brilliant, many are not up to standard.

A proper analysis of these contributions of a rather low standard alone cannot be done without taxing your patience for several hours. I shall therefore say only a few words generally with a view to raising the standard of our historical investigation. These are of course meant for my young friends in the field of research and also for the few who are independently carrying on researches in historical subjects without having previously undergone sufficient training for such work.

For the scientific study of history, one has to be equipped with the knowledge of languages and scripts for the utilization of original sources, to be diligent in collecting materials, to be critical in the analysis and examination of the data, and above all to be sincere in the search for truth. To the altar of truth must be sacrificed one's passions and preconceived notions as well as one's bias whether it is personal, provincial, racial, communal, or national. An eminent Indian historian of the twelfth century rightly says, "That man of merit alone deserves praise, whose language, like that of a judge, has discarded bias as well as prejudice in recounting the events of the past." Linguistic equipment, diligence, critical acumen and love of truth are the qualities essential for success in historical investigations and without all of them in considerable degree nobody can be a first rate historian. You know that the history of many parts of India in our period suffers from a scarcity of reliable materials, although not to the same extent as the history of the earlier period covered by the first section of the Congress. Our problem is, therefore, not exactly, as in the case of the modern period of Indian history, of selecting materials with a definite point of view, but mainly to follow faithfully the lead of the data at our disposal and reach conclusions to which we are led by them. The historian should better not cast his own shadow too often on his pages so as to blur the picture painted by him. But then the ancient Indian historian says, " Who else is capable of making vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age barring the poet and the creator who create naturally delightful productions ?" We admit that to be a first rate historian certainly requires an amount of vision and imagination and that the so-called subjective method of investigation is not out of scope in our enquiry even in the ancient period of Indian history. It is wellknown to you that a faulty text of a manuscript or an inscription sometimes yields no meaning and requires to be emended. Suggestive emendations of defective texts are often very helpful in clearing obscure points; but it has also to be remembered

that too much free play of imagination in such matters makes confusion worse confounded. What I mean to say is that subjectivity should always be subordinated to objectivity. The objective method has to be followed until a point of view emerges in the mind of the investigator and the materials should then be reviewed from the new angle of vision. My unfortunate experience in the field of Indian historical research is that in our scholarship imagination, sometimes associated with superficiality and a tendency for propounding startling theories, is often more in evidence than critical acumen and a scientific handling of materials. What I mean to say will be clear from a few illustrations.

As indicated above in connection with the Rāshṭrakūṭa raid on Kanauj, there are writers who are inclined to take the claims put on behalf of certain kings in the official royal *praśastis* in their literal sense. But surely the claim of Devapāla to have been the "undisputed" lord of the whole land bounded by the Himalayas, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Adam's Bridge and that of Dhaṅga to have kept in his prison the wives of the kings of Kāñchī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga cannot be regarded as history. There are cases far worse than these. Some time ago the attention of certain scholars was drawn to a theory, based on references to aerial cars and destructive weapons such as the Pāśupatāstra in early Indian literature, that the Indians of old knew the use of hand-grenades, canons, aeroplanes and even atom bombs from the time of the Ṛigveda down to that of the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra* attributed to Bhoja who flourished in the eleventh century A.D. It was, however, pointed out to the author that the contention is rendered improbable by the old relics unearthed from historic sites as well as by the description of the military equipment of the Indians and of actual battles of the Indians with indigenous and foreign powers together with their results, as found in more reliable Indian and foreign works of the early period. But without caring for the evidence furnished on this point by the writings of foreigners like Megasthenes, Hiuen Tsang and Albīrūnī and of Indian writers like Kalhaṇa, the author now charged his critics with ignorance of our sacred literature and with a bias against our glorious past, said to be borrowed from our 'enemies', *i.e.*, the European scholars. He then condescended to explain away the evidence against his views by a most ingenious process of reasoning and by counter questions, exhibiting merely what is called *ignoratio elenchi* (fallacies of irrelevancy) in Logic. At length he quoted a famous stanza from the introduction of Bhavabhūti's

Mālatīmādhava and expressed the hope that, although the merits of his theory may not be properly appreciated by his contemporaries, it is destined to be accepted by future historians. Unfortunately such fondness for one's own theories and no love of truth are sometimes noticed in the field of historical investigation especially in regard to the ancient period of Indian history. How difficult it is to convince some of our scholars about any mistake they might have committed I would illustrate by another interesting example that will also show the opposite side of the picture. A distinguished friend of ours once reviewed a book on the history of the Pallavas of Kāñchī and stated that the author was wrong in supporting the Parthian origin of the Pallavas. When the author pointed out to the reviewer that far from accepting that theory the book actually criticises it, the learned reviewer, strangely enough, quoted a few detatched sentences from the book to convince its author that the language of criticism in the book only proves acceptance of the theory !

Proper reviewing of books in the periodicals is undoubtedly the best way of maintaining the standard of research and also of raising it. Unfortunately reviews in our journals sometimes give a false idea about the books reviewed. They are in not a few cases like the *praśastis* of early Indian rulers and take notice only of the real or imaginary good points and not at all of defects. I have noticed brilliant books reviewed side by side with absolutely worthless ones with practically the same words of praise. It has no doubt to be admitted that all contributions should be reviewed with an amount of sympathy and that their merits, if there be any, ought to be emphasised. On no account, however, their glaring defects should be entirely suppressed. This has to be done for the guidance and benefit of scholars working in the field as well as for enabling the authors themselves to better their works in future editions. Truth certainly demands an amount of boldness from its votaries in the field of historical research.

Sometimes, it is regarded as a duty of the sectional presidents of the Congress to select an interesting aspect of Indian history and discuss it with a view to attracting the pointed attention of students to a new or important branch of study and research. Although this lies within the scope of all contributors of papers to the Congress, this is certainly a wise step. The attention of our young researchers has to be periodically drawn to subjects of Indian history in which there is ample scope for further work. It is no doubt a matter of regret that unexplored or partially explored subjects are too many even now.

in the early period of Indian history. On the whole, however, it may be said that our investigators usually prefer the political to the institutional and cultural aspects of history. Although there are still many gaps in the reconstruction of the political history of ancient India and although numerous sites shall have to be excavated and thousands of epigraphs discovered and studied before the picture may be finally drawn, it seems necessary that considerable amount of our energy should also be spent now for the elucidation of the cultural history of our motherland in which the breaks are by far bigger and more frequent. By way of illustration, I may draw your attention to the composite nature of our culture and to the contribution to its composition by the various racial elements constituting our society. I cannot but admit that not much has yet been done by us in the analysis of the Aryan, Dravidian, Pre-Dravidian and Mongoloid contributions to our culture as distinct elements. The possibilities of enquiry in this subject of study may be explained by an illustration.

The pre-Aryan people of the Indus valley worshipped a Father-god conceived as an ascetic and a lord of beasts and also his phallus as a symbol of procreation and virility. The worship of a Mother-goddess and her Yoni as a symbol of motherhood and fecundity was also widely prevalent amongst them. After the settlement of the Aryans in India had resulted in the admixture of Aryan and non-Aryan blood and in the emergence of a composite social structure, the pre-Aryan Father-god was gradually identified with Ṛigvedic Rudra. This was the beginning of the later development of Rudra-śiva as one of the greatest gods of the orthodox Indian pantheon. Although the non-Aryan association of Śiva is not completely forgotten even today, the worship of the god and his phallic emblem was widely adopted by even the Aryan element in the orthodox upper classes of the society before the age of the imperial Guptas. Inspite, however, of the fact that the Devī or Mother-goddess is now regarded as one of the Pañchadevatā (*viz.*, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Devī, Śiva and Vishṇu) to be worshipped in all ceremonies, complete absorption of this pre-Aryan female deity in the orthodox Indian cult was considerably later than that of Śiva. As regards the worship of her symbol, although it was prevalent amongst many of the aboriginal tribes and is advocated in certain late-medieval works and although several Yoni-tīrthas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and later works, it was never agreeable to the taste of all classes of the society. Even in the age of the imperial Guptas, the Indian Mother-goddess, conceived as the wife of Rudra-śiva, was regarded by the orthodox

elements of the society as subordinate to that god. There are numerous instances of her worship in the association of Śiva, her husband and superior, in the epigraphic and literary records of the early period. Without entering into details, which may be discussed elsewhere, we would like to point out that the kings of the Gupta age and their successors are usually described as extremely devoted to Śiva, Vishṇu or Āditya ; but a monarch who was an exclusive devotee of the Mother-goddess is rarely met with before the days of the Gurjara-Pratihāras, amongst whom Nāgabhata II (*c.* 805-33 A.D.), Bhoja I (*c.* 836-85 A.D.) and Mahendrapāla I (*c.* 885-908 A.D.) claim to have been votaries of the Mother-goddess styled Bhagavatī. Wide acceptance of the prominent position of this goddess in the front rank of the orthodox Indian pantheon, although its traces are noticed as early as the age of the Kushāṇas in the early centuries of the Christian era (*cf.* Ommo or Umā on a coin of Huvishka), has to be ascribed to the post-Gupta period. But even then her association with such non-Aryan peoples as the Kirāta, Śabara and Pulinda is often pointedly mentioned. The Kirātas were Himalayan mountaineers of Mongoloid origin, while the Śabaras and Pulindas of the Proto-Australoid stock are associated with the Vindhyas and the hills of the Deccan. Now the contributions of not only the Mongoloids and Proto-Australoids but also of the Dravidians and Aryans appear to be suggested by the names of the Mother-goddess in Indian literature, such as Umā, Ambikā, Pārvatī, Haimavatī, Gaurī, Durgā, Aparṇā, Kālī, Dākshāyaṇī, Kauśikī, Kātyāyanī and others.

The cenception of the Indian Mother-goddess in the medieval period was a composite one in the sense that the Mother-goddess, worshipped under different forms and names by various tribes and clans, was eventually regarded as one single deity who was identified with the wife of Śiva. The traditional interpretation of the word *umā* is wellknown ; but actually the name Umā and Ambikā are derived from the Dravidian word *amma*, meaning ' mother ' and used in the sense of ' the universal mother.' These apparently point to the prevalence of the worship of the goddess originally among the Dravidian peoples. The name Pārvatī associates the deity with mountain tribes and Haimavatī especially with the Himalayan mountaineers. The name Durgā seems likewise to point to the original difficulty in approaching the goddess, possibly because she used to be worshipped in inaccessible caves on hills covered with jungles. The name Gaurī, indicating "the yellow-complexioned

goddess,' was used as a name of Himālaya's daughter and seems to suggest her adoration originally among the Mongoloid xanthoderms on the northern fringes of India. The representation of Śiva, styled Giriśa meaning 'dweller on the mountains,' and of his wife, the Devī, in the guise of a Kirāta couple in a celebrated epic story (*cf.* the popularity, in the Gupta age, of names like Chirātadatta, 'one dedicated to Kirāta or Śiva') also associates certain forms of the Indian Father-god and Mother-goddess with the Himalayas. The name Kālī, 'the dark-complexioned goddess,' probably points to her original worship among the melanodermic peoples of the Proto-Australoid group. The name Aparṇā, which tradition connects with the religious austerity undergone by Himālaya's daughter in securing Śiva as her husband, really means 'the goddess who is without her leaf-cloth, *i.e.*, naked.' Aparṇā thus seems to have been originally worshipped by Proto-Australoid barbarians such as the Nagna-Śabara (*i.e.*, the naked Śabaras), distinguished in Varāhamihira's *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* from the Parṇa-Śabara (*i.e.*, the leaf-clad Śabaras) to whom the Mahāyāna Buddhists owed their deity styled Parṇa-śabarī. The names Dākshāyaṇī, Kauśikī and Kātyāyanī appear to indicate deified ladies or tribal and family deities and possibly point to the contribution of the Aryans to the composite conception of the Indian Mother-goddess.

Similar traces of the contributions of the different racial elements in the Indian population can be noticed not only in many others of our gods and demi-gods but also in our languages and dialects, our social customs, religious practices, philosophical ideas and the basis of our law. I invite our young researchers to take up seriously subjects relating to the cultural history of India with special reference to the origin of particular institutions. What is needed at the outset is a thorough and comprehensive survey of all our dialects and of the social and religious practices and institutions prevalent in different parts of India as well as a minute analysis of the materials obtainable from Indian literature comprising all works in all our dialects. Survey is also necessary of foreign works dealing even indirectly with India and of our as yet unwritten floating literature dealing directly or indirectly with our religious and social life, such as the *kathā*, *rūpakathā*, *vrata-kathā*, *bāramāsī*, *chhaḍā*, etc., current in Bengal. There should similarly be a descriptive survey of all deities iconically or aniconically worshipped in different parts of India with special reference to the mode of their worship. In the absence of any attempt at such critical surveys, we may only indulge in 'armchair research' which,

however, can hardly be of very great practical value. The result of my examination of at least our best Sanskrit and Bengali dictionaries is that the former does not take cognisance of many hundreds of words and senses noticed in epigraphic, literary and technical compositions, while the latter is wanting in thousands of words spoken in different parts of Bengal. I first realised the necessity of surveys of the type indicated above during my student days when my attention was drawn to the absolutely misleading statement, in one of our most outstanding works on Hindu iconography, that in Bengal the god Kārttikeya is only "worshipped by disreputable women on certain occasions." The statement is true only with reference to certain regions; but the god is actually worshipped in wide areas of Bengal by most women desiring progeny in this life or the next every year at the end of the solar month of Kārttika. Now, with several years' experience in the field of research, I am convinced that no comprehensive history of any important aspect of India's culture can be satisfactorily written in the ordinary 'armchair' method. The success of such a work depends considerably on spade work for which we require not only the support of the Government, the Universities and such learned bodies as the Indian History Congress but also the help of a band of trained, serious and selfless workers who are willing to dedicate themselves for the cause of the history of their motherland. A careless and untrained amateur would often give currency to wrong ideas that will take a long time to go.

Friends, I have always felt very strongly for the progress of our historical research and for the improvement of its standard and I have placed before you today some of my ideas with that end in view. I thank you all very heartily for the patient hearing you have so kindly accorded to me.

SĀRIPUTTA AND MOGGALLĀNA

DR. NALINAKSHA DUTT, M.A., D.LITT. (LOND.)

Head of the Department of Pali, Calcutta University

It is the unique privilege of Calcutta and of the Mahabodhi Society to be the scene for the second time for the reception of the holy relics though not of Buddha but of two Buddhist saints who ranked in purity and knowledge next to Buddha. This event throws our minds back to the days of Asoka and Kanishka and their quinquennial assemblies to which were invited monks from far and near.

The relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna are symbols of the triumph of the spirit in man over his material interests. The two saints, who were direct disciples of the Buddha, set at naught all material considerations in giving effect to and teaching the spirit of toleration towards all faiths; in protesting against social inequities and inequalities; in resisting, as a wall of steel, the cruel practices involved in many of the religious sacrifices of their times.

Sāriputta (Śāriputra) was given the first place among the disciples of Buddha because of his many spiritual and intellectual qualities. He excelled all in wisdom, self control, and virtue; was well composed in his inner self, dwelling as he could do in the highest planes of thought and sanctification; was deep in his knowledge of the doctrines, and above all, possessed of the gift of persuasive preaching in a remarkable degree. He was well-grounded in the doctrines of both Brāhmanic and non-Brāhmanic teachers, and remarkably equipped as he was in all respects, it is said that Buddha revealed to him alone the outlines of the *Abhidamma*, the third Piṭaka of the Buddhists, dealing with logic, analyses of mental states, exposition of the doctrinal terms, and the Buddhist philosophy generally. It was Sāriputta who developed the same into a collection of treatises. One can well say that the early Indian literature relating to logic and psychology had its beginning in the *Abhidamma Piṭaka* and therefore the credit for being the earliest propounder of these two sciences goes to this disciple of Buddha. All these remarkable qualities serve to show that he was the learned son of learned parents, his mother Śārī being a daughter of Māṭhara the author of the well-known grammar *Aindra Vyākaraṇa* and superior as a dialectician to Sāriputta's father Tiṣya.

Moggallāna (or Maudgalyāyana), the other illustrious disciple of the Buddha, was valiant, self-restrained, and possessed of supernatural powers which he is said to have exercised more often than many other saints. These powers are the *ṛddhis* that are acquired as a corollary to the attainment of a high stage of spiritual sanctification but may or may not be used by the saints concerned according to their prohibitions in this respect. Moggallāna was able to raise the disciples to the highest stages of moral spiritual progress. Though he was not a philosopher or a commentator of the type of Sāriputta, yet he was very high in his own way and initiated the disciples into meditational practices. Sāriputta is said to have been like a mother and Moggallāna a nurse to the initiated, and while the former expounded the *Abhidharma Piṭaka* the latter promulgated the same. Moggallāna like Sāriputta was a descendant of a learned Brahmin family and kept up the family tradition of learning as Sāriputta did.

The Buddhist saints like Sāriputta and Moggallāna, penniless and devoid of material resources as they were, their intellectual and spiritual wealth enabled them to work wonders. As far back as a millennium and a half, when distances were not annihilated by the speedy means of locomotion as at present, their followers inspired by their eagerness and enthusiasm to bring to their fellowmen in the different countries outside India the benefits of the religion followed to other countries such as Burma, Ceylon, Tibet, China and Central Asia. The cultural contacts with these lands laid the foundation of Greater India. The methods of making proselytes were purely of persuasion and carrying conviction into their hearts as to the normal and spiritual greatness of the preachers, and the moral and spiritual benefits that would issue from embracing Buddhism. There was not the least trace of compulsion in their methods, and so long as the religion itself was followed on sound lines and the core of the system was free from all germs of rot, it kept on its position of glory. It is not yet too late to revive the cultural links of India with the other countries as of yore with benefits to each of them.

FINANCIAL POLICY AND THE RISE IN THE PRICES OF CONSUMPTION GOODS*

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I

The present paper falls into two parts. In the first part some general observations are made on the financial policy of the Government, as stated in the Finance-Member's budget-speech for 1948-49. The second part attempts a theoretical analysis, with particular reference to conditions at present, of expenditure on consumption goods, increase in which is generally held to account for the great rise in their prices during the last few months. The analysis seeks to throw light on the proper methods for checking such expenditure, and specially on the advisability of imposing further taxes on consumption.

The budget-speech accepts the view "that each year a Government's financial policy should be so planned as to rectify the economic maladjustments of the time, and to serve as a compensatory device to offset fluctuations in the private sector of the economy. In a time of inflation, budgets should not only be balanced but there should be a comfortable surplus for mopping up the excess purchasing power and to encourage economy in private spending". The Finance-Member interpreted this view to mean that (1) "the tax burdens laid must be met by cutting down expenditure on consumption" and (2) "The borrowing made must be from genuine savings and not from inflated bank-credit".

It does not, however, appear that behind this financial policy there is any clear realisation of the general economic policy to be pursued. Financial policy is one of several instruments available to the Government for realising its economic aims. These aims are clear cut and well-recognised in a war-economy, as well as in a peace-economy during a period when the tempo of economic change is not very rapid. But when cyclical changes are superimposed on

* Paper read at the Economic Convention at the Senate House, Calcutta.

structural ones, as happens in an era of rapid industrialisation, as in India at present, there are usually differences of opinion regarding the economic aims to be pursued by the Government. At present, the situation is complicated by a still more formidable factor. This relates to the sharp differences of opinion that are currently held regarding the role of the state in economic affairs, and the future economic organisation of society. On this vital issue, every Government all over the world must make up its mind, do so quickly, and let the public understand it unequivocally. It must be clearly understood that it is not a remote factor, but, in the post-war world today, is clearly acting on economic incentives, both of labour and of capital. It has got to be reckoned with even in formulating the immediate financial policy, since the view that the Government takes on this question is bound to affect such modifications of the tax-structure as it might decide on. Besides, whether the Government has made up its mind or not on this issue, the public will interpret its financial proposals with reference to this issue, and, in the absence of a definite enunciation of policy, there will be different interpretations leading to economic uncertainty. The public has become as "Capitalism-Conscious" as it is now known to be "Cycle-Conscious", and, the "announcement-effects" would accordingly be influenced by such interpretations.

The declaration of the Government's industrial policy made some time ago, does not go far enough to set the minds either of capitalists or of labourers at rest on this question, since it leaves the final decision open for the time being. Further, it is hard to discern any attempt at co-ordination with other instruments of economic policy. In some cases the ostensible aims of the financial policy have been thwarted by the policy adopted in other spheres, notably in the sphere of decontrol.

Nor has the aim of securing a budget-surplus or at least a balanced-budget, been in fact attempted in the budget itself.

Lastly, the statement made in the budget-speech that "an inflationary pressure resulting from too much money chasing too few goods has been the key-note of our present economy", reveals an approach to the problem from the Quantity Theory point of view which most modern economists regard as sterile in periods of rapid change. The statement ignores, or underestimates a number of important factors acting today on aggregate money expenditure as well as on production. The next section attempts to show the importance of these neglected factors.

II

From the standpoint of the vast majority of the public, it is the sharp and phenomenal rise in the prices of consumption goods which is the most noticeable and the most distressing feature of the present phase of inflation. It is widely believed that this is due to two causes—(1) lessened production, and (2) increased expenditure on consumption goods, due to increased money incomes caused to a great extent by increased wage-rates in terms of money. The question of increasing production will not be taken up here, principally it would not be possible, within a very short period, at least, to increase production appreciably. We will here proceed on the assumption that production is inelastic in the short period within which it is imperative to bring about a reduction in the prices of consumption goods.

We take up the expenditure on consumption goods for analysis. This may be divided up into two components—(*a*) Consumers' expenditure on consumption goods for purposes of consumption in the present, and (*b*) Expenditure on consumption goods, whether by consumers themselves or by businessmen, not for purposes of current consumption, and therefore of being the nature of investment. Such investment expenditure directed to consumption goods reduces the "available supply" to which genuine expenditure for purposes of consumption, considered under (*a*), may be directed in the short period. When such investment expenditure is made by consumers it leads to (1) "hoarding of goods"; when it is done by businessmen we have "stocking of consumption goods" which may be made either for purposes of exportation to other countries or for unloading them on to the home market at some later time.

There is always some amount of "hoarding" and "stocking" in ordinary times, but in abnormal times like the present they both increase unduly and it is the excess above the normal in the amounts of the "hoards" and "stocks" to which attention has to be directed. If there has been excess "hoarding" and "stocking" the "available" supply of consumption goods for genuine consumption can be increased in the short period even before additional production has taken place by measures which have the effect of releasing the excess "hoards" and "stocks".

As regards "hoards" by *bona fide* consumers, an increase above the usual amounts held for this purpose may be due to a variety of causes: anticipation of rising prices; probable difficulties in securing supplies at the proper time due, *e.g.*, to inefficient working of the

transport system and control arrangements; high money-incomes; and economic uncertainty. A diminished desire to hold cash, which is a phenomenon of economic uncertainty, may also lead to such "hoarding", in which case the "hoards" should be regarded as liquid "stocks" since the amounts affected are not meant so much to ensure steady consumption as to prevent depreciation in the value of assets. Such expenditure increases the money income of the sellers of the goods, except where the "hoarding" is made by producer-consumers. In recent months, excess "hoarding", where this has taken place, has been due primarily to the first two causes mentioned above. The way to deal with them is by better administration of anti-hoarding, rationing and control-measures, by removing bottle-necks in transport, and, above all, by removing anticipations of rising prices.

As regards the "stocking" of consumption goods by businessmen, this is due fundamentally to the expectation of greater profit from this type of investment rather than from investment in fixed or working capital. An anticipation of a rise in the prices of consumption goods, by itself, would not lead to such 'stocking'. But the anticipation of a rise which is relatively greater than that anticipated for investment-goods, or a time-lag in the rise of prices of the two classes of goods, permitting the amounts invested temporarily in consumption goods to be later diverted to investment goods, would encourage such "stocking". Both these phenomena have operated in recent months in this country. Another factor arises out of the breakdown of the economic unity of the country, chiefly through the partition of India, but also through the operation of the system of price-control and rationing. It has opened up vast possibilities of illegal gains through black-marketing and smuggling, and thereby increased the profitability of holding such "stocks". This phenomenon is due to *dislocation* rather than diminished supply. In so far as transaction in commodities, whether legal or illegal with Pakistan are concerned, they act on our economy in the same way as foreign investment. Looking merely at the flow of goods between the two countries, and considering its effects on the amount of available consumption goods in India, as compared with the situation before the partition, it appears that the *net* flow of consumption goods into India from the areas now comprised in Pakistan has on the whole diminished on account of economic difficulties in Pakistan. This *net* flow refers to consumption goods only, and takes account of the fact that large amounts of consumption goods, on which control has recently been lifted, such as cloth and

sugar, would have gone to those areas but for the partition, so that in respect of these commodities the available supply position in India should theoretically be better. The profitability of illegal transactions has, however, led to the withholding of large amounts of these commodities from the Indian consumer without their being available readily and in a legal manner to the consumer in Pakistan. If the illegal stocks accumulated for this reason do not exceed the amounts which would have been sent to Pakistan areas in the absence of partition, the comparative supply position of these commodities within India is not likely to be worse, except in so far as there has been a fall in production. In fact, the comparative supply situation is probably like that, but the amounts of money invested in stocks meant for Pakistan through illegal channels are very much higher than the size of the "stocks" might lead us to expect, because of the high profits expected. They represent a diversion of investment of a most unhealthy character.

Additional taxes on consumption, by themselves, can have little or no effect on the money expenditure on consumption goods for "hoarding" and "stocking". They can act merely by raising prices, not by removing the root causes described above which must be attacked by other, more direct, methods.

Coming now to expenditure for purposes of genuine consumption in the present, we have to take account of the increase in this on account of the flow of refugees from Pakistan. Expenditure by the refugees themselves, is made out of cash-balances held by them rather than out of money income earned from the production of available goods within India, while expenditure by the Government for their relief is similarly independent of money incomes earned in India in course of production. For purposes of comparison with the pre-partition situation, we should take account of (*i*) what the refugees would have consumed in Pakistan had they remained there, (*ii*) what they have already produced in Pakistan but left behind and (*iii*) the effect of allowing for these two factors on the net flow of commodities between the two dominions. The question involved is whether the amount of commodities now consumed in India by the refugees should be added to the net flow of commodities between the two dominions, since the net flow would have been different if they had remained in Pakistan. This is impossible to determine exactly, but since what the refugees have produced during the current year in Pakistan has been left behind there, it would not be unfair to assume that this net flow would not have been appreciably different, even after allowing

for the fact that the exodus represents a diminution in effective demand within Pakistan. Thus, for the immediate present, consumption by refugees represents a net increase in demand for consumption goods. In the present plight of the refugees, a rise in the prices of consumption goods caused by higher taxation cannot be expected to affect consumption. This will merely increase Government expenditure on doles.

None of the constituents of the aggregate expenditure on consumption goods so far considered depends primarily on the money income of the community. Yet their importance at the present moment is indeed very great. The difference made to "available" supplies because of them is difficult to determine, but there can be no doubt that there has been a very great increase in these items in recent months.

The most important element is, of course, the expenditure for *bona fide* purposes of consumption by the public, excluding refugees. This depends principally on their money income, but, in the present situation, two special factors acting on the propensity to consume, and so on consumption expenditures, have to be taken into consideration. (1) Ordinarily, consumption-expenditures increase at a lower rate than the increase in money-incomes, so that the rise in the price of consumption goods lags behind the rise in money incomes. When, however, the wage-unit rises, consumption expenditure, like prices, can be expected to rise in the same proportion as the rise in the wage unit and in money incomes. The rise in the wage-unit is fundamentally due to increased investment near or at the point of full-employment, when there is no corresponding increase in employment and output. In the Indian economic system, where industrial wage-earners do not yet constitute a large percentage of the population and where there is little mobility of labour, aggregate money incomes depend on agricultural incomes at least as much as on industrial wage-rates. From our present point of view a rise in agricultural incomes, even though they comprise other items than wages, may be regarded as a rise in agricultural wage-rates which has been manifest in recent months. The wage-unit of pure theory may thus be considered as compounded of two elements—the industrial wage-unit and the agricultural wage-unit. If increased investment, at a time of nearly full employment or in conditions of inelasticity of production, notwithstanding increased investment, due to "bottlenecks", takes the form of increased demand for industrial labour the industrial

wage-unit rises; if it takes the form of investment in "hoards" and "stocks" the agricultural wage-unit rises. The mere diversion of investment towards "stocks" would not diminish aggregate money incomes though it might diminish the rate of increase of industrial wage-rates.

Attempts to diminish money-incomes must aim basically to cut down investment whether in the direct demand for labour in industry or in "stocks" and "hoards" in present-day conditions. It is futile to expect that the wage rates and money incomes can be scaled down by statutory measures or by negotiations, unless investment in terms of money in present-day conditions is diminished.

It is, however, possible that investment leading to direct demand for labour as well as in "stocks" might diminish, leading to diminished total money-incomes, but that would not have a corresponding effect on consumption-expenditure, if there was at the same time investment in other assets, like land and buildings, which is considered below.

(2) Windfall changes in capital values, caused by investments in assets like land, is regarded by Keynes as one of the "major factors causing short-period changes in the propensity to consume" not only of the poor, but of the richer classes as well. That this has occurred on a very large scale in recent months is well-known. Large investments in land and buildings have been made specially in areas near the Pakistan border.

The effect as regards aggregate investment has been, in the first place, to offset diminution in other forms of investment and, secondly, to the extent that there has been a net transfer from the investing class to ordinary people, to diminish somewhat the funds available for investment. As regards employment and money-incomes, the effect has been to increase them to a lesser extent than might be expected from the amount invested, as there has been little construction of buildings, etc. But, as regards expenditure on consumption, the effect has been to increase it considerably, partly by raising money-incomes slightly, but chiefly by modifying the propensity to consume. The prevention of such windfalls in land-values, etc., through the state-regulation of such purchases would diminish the propensity to consume and therefore the expenditure on consumption without diminishing money-incomes, but a reduction of money incomes, of itself would not affect this part of expenditure on consumption goods.

The above analysis attempts to show the great part played by investment expenditure on consumption goods, and of windfalls in capital-values in the recent rise in the prices of consumption goods. But for these the increase in the money-income which has undoubtedly occurred would not have brought about such a short rise of prices, particularly at this time. The immediate remedy must therefore be sought in these fields, and generally in diminished investment in terms of money.

THE BERLIN AIR-LIFT AND THE TOUGH GUY

P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (SWEDEN)

THE Berlin Air-Lift is another name for the mighty bridge, formed on the wings of the modern steel-birds of the air belonging to the western democracies for spanning the yawning abyss of ideological differences obtaining between them and the Soviet Union. It forms the only undisrupted line of communication with millions of starving people marooned in the Slough of Despond behind the Iron Curtain. We can hardly think of it without thinking at the same time of the Big Three, who have been responsible for its planning, organisation and steady maintenance. It forms the most potent symbol of the invincible aerial might of the U.S.A. and Great Britain,—an indestructible symbol before which the heavy, relentless blows of the mighty Russian hammer and the treacherously sharp cuts of the Russian sickle have gone in vain. A modern version of the biblical manna has appeared like a miracle before the hungry, starving and despairing men, women and children of blockaded Berlin when the different sectors in which they have been passing sleepless nights and restless days have echoed to the thunder of mighty transport-planes, carrying tons of essential food-stuffs and escorted by the latest type of jet-propelled fighters, capable of flying at a fantastic speed. Like veritable messengers of peace and succour they have droned overhead night and day to cheer up the stricken population to a new hope for better existence. For maintaining this bridge, which has now turned out to be a bridge-head established in the heart of communism, no less than a mighty fleet of 500 aircraft must be on the wings in a round-the-clock mercy mission. In this grand drama of human efforts at winning the race against time were pressed into service all types of aircraft from the giant 4-engined transports to 6-engined long-range bombers, capable of carrying tons of loads with the greatest expedition, as a loss of few minutes meant a corresponding loss of valuable human lives. Food-stuffs and other essential commodities were either shipped all the way from across the other side of the Herring Pond or nearer Germany from across the Channel and as soon as cargo-ships carrying them had reached German ports under Allied control they were at once unloaded and despatched by lorries and trucks to the nearest air-fields for being lifted up by cranes and rolled away into the bowels of the waiting leviathans of the air. After completing the short trip to the Tempelhof aerodrome in Berlin, these leviathans would vomit up these

food-stuffs for being borne away in waiting trucks and lorries for distribution among the hungry population of Berlin. There was even a talk of pressing into service still bigger planes of the German Rumpler type, which however was never turned out on a commercial scale before the war due to lack of funds and sufficient Govt. subsidy in Germany. But leviathans of the air like the flying Mars, the manufacture of which was undertaken during the closing stages of the war Henry Kaiser, the reputed air-craft designer of the U.S.A., and which already left the assembly lines and was recently considered fit for taking the air might yet be used, if there was not a further deterioration in the overall-picture of Berlin.

It has required the magic skill and the indomitable courage of a triumvir military regime, consisting of three miracle-men from the U.S.A., Britain and France to maintain and consolidate this aerial link-up with the marooned population in the face of apparently insurmountable obstacles and an imminent danger of another world conflagration. The greatest of these three, whose indomitable will and unyielding courage have saved the western democracies from being completely overwhelmed by the rising tide of communism, is the American General Lucius Du Bignon Clay, who like a Roman Imperator, stood four-square to the winds of aggression, threatening from the East with all the devastating force of a nightmarish tornado. This man with a sharply chiselled narrow face, out of which a pair of steel-grey eyes on both sides of a sharply pointed nose, send piercing looks around him, holds the high and dignified rank of the military governor of the occupied American zone of Germany. For handling such a difficult situation as the Berlin Blockade with unexampled courage and determination he is said to have a striking resemblance with the one-eyed Roman hero, Publius Horatius Cocles, who single-handed held the bridge over the river Tiber against overwhelming odds till at last he was able to destroy it for preventing the onrushing avalanche of attacking hordes of Etruscans from using it. Together with his British and French collaborators, generals Brian Robertson and Pierre Koenig, both of whom were decorated for distinguished service during the last war, he is considered to have fulfilled a more difficult task than his Roman predecessor 2,400 years ago. Not only by virtue of strength of character and imposing personality but also by being backed by the full military might, the untold economic resources and last but not least by the great prestige of the U.S.A. among the nations of the world that General Clay, now better known as the Tough Guy, has come to assume this all-impor-

tant role as the saviour of Germany in the capacity of a military, pleni-potentiary of the U.S.A.

The history of the economic blockade of Berlin dates back to the day when for the first time the train-service from the British zone in Western Germany, passing through Marienborn which lies just a few miles from the common zonal border within Russian territory, on the Hannover-Magdeburg-Berlin line had to be suspended under orders from the Russian military head quarters stationed at Karlhorst. The real intentions behind this move were hidden behind the laconic statement from the H. Q. that the railway was in immediate need of repair. This railway route to Berlin which had been used for full three years in transporting troops and provisions and which had therefore formed the Allies' main life-line of communication with the Reichs Hauptstadt (the capital of the Reich) from the Western zone was sealed for future use by this order, issued some time in April last. This was quickly followed by other orders which prohibited all traffic on inland water-routes and brought about the almost total suspension of all postal communication with the West. In the face of these retaliatory measures, unexpectedly enforced by the Soviet military authorities, the Allied military command in Germany was at first non-plussed to find out a quick solution of the impasse thus created except for seeking redress through the diplomatic channel. For a long time the political tension that had existed between the Western Democracies on the one side and the Soviet Union on the other now at last assumed a grave proportion, which was very near the breaking point. When efforts through diplomatic channels for solving the deadlock were in vain, thanks to the ingenuity of the ' Tough Guy,' the idea of constructing an aerial bridge dawned upon the Allied military authorities and in it alone could be found the key to forcing the blockade successfully and without any great delay,—the blockade of Berlin which was characterised by the Allied press as unjust and against the very spirit and letter of the United Nations charter.

A security blanket now covers the secret activities of the American Air Force for breaking through the Russian economic blockade at all costs before the advent of General Winter on whose help the Russians had always relied before in checkmating an enemy or outwitting an would be enemy. It was rumoured that like apocalyptic ghost-birds scores of B-29 and B-36 types of heavy bombers, which were solely designed to carry a load of atom bombs, were silently brooding on secret air-fields in the American zones, ready to take off at a moment's notice for laying their deadly eggs on communist strongholds in

Eastern Germany in case of a war breaking out over the Berlin tangle, which has come as the culmination of a cold war that has existed between the U.S.A. and Soviet Russia. As has always been the case ever before the attitude of Britain even in the present crisis was determined more by considerations of expediency and of maintaining the balance of power in Europe than by those of actively aligning herself on the side of the U.S.A. sincerely for the purpose of removing the dangerous economic and political bottleneck, created by the currency restrictions and the blockade of Berlin, which is just short of an actual war. The pivotal point of British foreign policy has been formed round the same old principle of playing off the one against the other and in the present crisis though Britain is actively co-operating with the U.S.A. in evacuating people from the Russian sectors and by sending ship-loads of food-stuffs and medical supplies to them, yet at heart she does not like to be drawn into a conflict with the Soviet Union. The ever growing might of militant America and the Red Menace have no doubt placed Britain in a very difficult situation, but she has nevertheless found that the only way of her deliverance lies in avoiding being involved in a direct conflict with any of these two big powers.

The evacuation of marooned families from the Russian controlled eastern sector of Berlin is still going on and it has brought in its wake difficult problems of rehabilitation and resettlement. According to unofficial estimates the total strength of Allied troops numbering about 25,000 has now been reduced to that of a brigade only and this skeleton-force has now no more than a mere symbolical value in the maelstrom of chaos, prevailing among a population of two and a half million in the Western sector. For every Allied soldier out of the remaining total of 6,000 still stationed in Berlin there are at least 50 Russian soldiers on the other side and therefore the ratio of difference in the Russians' favour is 50: 1. Seen against the lurid background of this disparity in the strength of the respective armies of the opposing powers the situation seems almost hopeless for the Allies and who knows but for the courage and determination of the 'Tough Guy', backed by the atom bomb and other deadly secret weapons now in the possession of the U.S.A., the Allies would not have been able to stay any longer in Berlin or for that matter in any part of Germany.

Ever since the days of occupation of Germany by the Allied powers there have been two air-corridors leading into Berlin from

Western Germany over Russian-controlled territory. The Northern one was used for traffic by the British while the Southern one which stretched out due east from Frankfurt-on-Main was frequented almost exclusively by the Americans. These two different corridors through which were formed different aerial routes for the aircraft of the U.S.A. and Great Britain did in fact accentuate the absence of identical views of these two powers on Germany and in their attitude towards the Soviet Union. A master strategist and perhaps one of the greatest living statesmen of the world that Marshal Stalin, the man of steel, is, he was not slow in exploiting the situation created by this difference of views among the U.S.A. and Great Britain over Germany and the Soviet Union and by the clash of Anglo-American interests in the Middle East. Long before the present difficult situation created by the Russian economic blockade crystallised into a hard and bitter reality for the Allies, Marshal Stalin had got scent that all was not well with the Western Democracies with regard to shaping a strong Common foreign policy against the Soviet Union. Perhaps in the Berlin Blockade, which was so meticulously planned and so successfully enforced by the Kremlin just at the right moment, the Russians have found their answer to the American atom bomb, with the help of which they hope to be able to still further widen the rift between the U.S.A. and Great Britain created as a result of the Palestine 'imbroglio', over which both Mr. Bevin and General George Marshall have burnt their fingers more than once.

General Lucius du Bignon Clay, nick-named as the 'Tough Guy', was born in the year 1897 in Marietta in Georgia, U.S.A. coming of a very cultured family he received a very decent education at first at his home in the Southern state and then afterwards at the Cadet School in West Point. It was here that in the month of June, 1918, he got the officer's rank for the first time in the States' Pioneer-Corps. The first world war had not still then come to an end when he was sent to Europe. Shortly afterwards he was promoted to the rank of a captain, but unfortunately he could not enjoy the distinction and honour of his new rank for a long time as with the end of the war the American Army was once again reduced to its former peace-time strength, as a result of which Clay was degraded to the rank of an ordinary lieutenant. He had to remain in this rank for full seventeen years before luck smiled on him once again. Many times before the young lieutenant had got offers of more lucrative posts in the Civil Service, which he however turned down as military service alone suited his peculiar taste. It was perhaps due partly

to his being a Southerner and partly due to the fact that as a young man holding the rank of an officer in the Army's Pioneer-Corps he thought the nature of his work would be more varied and interesting than the dull routine of a civilian officer. During that time the present incumbent of the military Governorships of Germany did a lot of valuable work, requiring great engineering skill. Among his other works may be mentioned the construction of the giant dams across the Red River in Taxas. It was the result of a grand project, involving an expenditure of 55 million dollars. Besides for a number of years he worked in the capacity of the head of an organisation set up for supervising the construction of a number of military aerodromes and landing grounds, involving an expenditure of 100 million dollars. His great successes in such constructional work meant a steady promotion to higher and still higher ranks for which he had so long been craving. In the year 1942 when the first Japanese bomb hit the Pearl Harborur he was holding the rank of a lieutenant colonel, but unfortunately without having so much as even a regiment of troops to command. The only experience as a professional soldier that he could gain was about 24 years ago during a hectic period in the closing stages of the First World War, when he was but a young and raw officer in the Army. All his subsequent efforts for getting an opportunity of seeing active service again were in vain as the state did never like the idea of sending such a man having a sound knowledge of engineering to any overseas-theatre of the war. His services at home within the state were considered would be more valuable. For a time it really seemed that he would never smell powder again. During his long but uneventful career as a militarist Clay how ever got an opportunity of coming in close contact with many big industrialists and technical disigners and constructors for the Army which helped him in no small measure to get a better grasp of many technical problems which had so long been baffling his wits to tackle with them properly. As it had already happened times without number previously this time also Clay began to get very tempting offers from the industrialists for various responsible posts in their firms, if he could finally decide to give up his military career. But being a true Southerner he again refused such offers with thanks. The long-cherished desire of his life was however fulfilled at long last when the day came which saw the former lieutenant-colonel getting a command in Europe directly under no less a military personage than 'Ike' himself. Before the actual invasion of Europe by the Allied armies began in June, 1942, he was taken in as a member of 'Ike's'

military staff and during that period he led some important military operations at Cherbung with great distinction. But perhaps the greatest joy of his life which he had just begun to taste in this new capacity unfortunately came to a very speedy end as just a few months later the then chief of the American Mobilisation Bureau, James Byrnes, took a keen interest in the case of this highly competent colonel-engineer whom he finally decided to have as a liaison-officer, working directly under him. But as Clay was at that time working directly under 'Ike' (General Eisenhower's nickname) he could be taken only on lien for a period of 4 months to work under James Byrnes. Though this new development in official military affairs pleased Byrnes quite a lot it completely failed to catch the imagination of stubborn Clay, who could never entertain the idea of doing dull office-work, be it on the staff of no less a person than Byrnes himself, as he had long ago developed a regular itch for active service in the field and as he was promised by 'Ike' to get the command of a division shortly. But inspite of his temporary disappointment and sorrow this new appointment which had the unpleasing savoury of routine office-work, proved finally to be the turning-points in his life. After his services were requisitioned by Byrnes' Mobilisation Bureau and after he had served in Europe in his new capacity for sometime he was selected for the important post of 'Ike's' Special Adviser just after the war was over and when 'Ike' finally retired from active service shortly afterwards it was Lucius Clay, now better known as the 'Tough Guy', who took the supreme command of the American forces in occupied Germany.

According to his wife, by virtue of his forceful personality and his unfaltering decision in the face of a grave crisis, he is looked upon with a mixed feeling of awe and respect by her. His daily routine commences from 6-30 A.M. when he gets up from bed. Just an hour later on the stroke of 7-30 he usually takes his breakfast when he has as his two companions at the table his favourite Scottish hound George and his cockerspaniel Sambo. Exactly at 8 he goes to office which lies in the very heart of the big German metropolis. A few minutes after reaching office he gets busy with his office work. The first hour of his work is devoted to secret reports and the latest news that he gets on the phone direct from Washington, after which he is comparatively free to receive visitors. Though he is rather a bit brusque and business-like on the phone yet he always gives a patient hearing to his subordinates and his collaborators. He always takes a decision in important military affairs after thoroughly con-

sulting all the members of his staff as he does not believe in the practicability and usefulness of an arbitrary action. During these deliberations and consultations he is said to be in the habit of emptying one cup of coffee after another till he has consumed quite a large quantity of this stimulating drink. He is also known to be an inveterate smoker who must do justice to at least 50 cigarettes a day. The last hour of his office work is devoted to secret consultations with his chief Political Adviser Robert Murphy with whom he likes to enjoy a glass of rum after finishing his secret consultations, when the chauffeur of his car gets himself in readiness to drive him home at Dahlem. Even outside of office he can have very little rest and he has hardly known the pleasures and relaxation of an undisturbed private life. At home he has often high-ranking military officers as guests with whom he does not necessarily get a chance of discussing to a finish military matters in the office. At about eleven o'clock in the night he has to go once again to his office room to give last-minute instructions regarding despatch of the day's reports to Washington. "The post of the chief of the American occupational forces is no enviable sinocure. On the contrary it rather destroys one's reputation." With these words he was once said to have made a very cynical remark as he had to taste more than once the bitterness of shouldering the great responsibility pertaining to his office. He was successively accused of being anti-French, anti-British and anti-Russian. He could neither escape the malicious allegation from a certain quarter that he had been rather unduly hasty in pushing through his humanitarian plans for German reconstruction, while at the same time from another quarter he was made the target of a vicious criticism for the slow materialisation of the same, which had but reached the blue-print stage.

When the second Foreign Ministers Conference which was held in London in the year 1947 and which ended in a fiasco due to what was characterised by the Allied Press as obduracy of the Russian delegates, who pressed home their bitter attack on the Western Democracies to the obligato of vituperative thrusts and parries of the Russian rapier M. Vishinsky, it was no less a personage than the 'Tough Guy' himself, who inspite of a general hope for a unified Germany being shattered to pieces did not give in, but went straight into the arduous job of collecting material from the shattered fragments of the general European recovery programme for setting up a future structure for a strong Western Germany as a counter-weight to balance the communist menace from the East.

IQBAL

K. A. WADUD, M.A.

Iqbal's master thought—the growth of the Self or Personality—will be found treated at some length in his Persian poem Asrar-i-Khudi which has been rendered into English by Dr. Nicholson under the title: the Secrets of the self. A Bengali version of it is also available.

Iqbal was born in 1873. In 1905 he sailed for England for higher studies and had by that time established himself as a young Urdu poet of promise. In Cambridge he studied philosophy and was admitted to a high Degree. He got his doctorate from the Munich University of Germany with his thesis: the Development of Metaphysics in Persia. He came back to India in 1908 as a convert to Pan-Islamism and no longer interested in making verses. His friends could however persuade him to take to poetry again. His Asrar-i-Khudi was brought out in 1915.

The following letter of McTaggart, Iqbal's teacher and friend at Cambridge, throws some light on the development of the poet's mind:

I am writing to tell you with how much pleasure I have been reading your poems (Secrets of the Self). Have you not changed your position very much? Surely in the days when we used to talk philosophy together, you were much more of a pantheist and mystic. For my own part, I adhere to my own belief that selves are the ultimate reality, but as to their true content and their true good, my position is as it was, that that is to be found in eternity and not in time, and in love rather than in action. Perhaps, however, the difference is largely a question of emphasis—we each lay most weight on what our own country needs. I dare say you are right when you say that India is too contemplative. But I am sure that England—and all Europe—is not contemplative enough. That is a lesson that we ought to learn from you—and no doubt we have something to teach in return.

Iqbal's change over from Pantheism and Mysticism to Selfhood and Personality, in other words, from the ideal of self-surrender to the Supreme Reality to that of self-development with the help of that Reality, is not indicated sufficiently in his writings in which the note of self-development is consistently strident. But the extraneous

circumstances (the needs of his own country as McTaggart puts it) influenced this transformation in him are not hard to discern.

Patriotism was a strong motive force in the youthful Iqbal and his poems such as Himala, Buddha, Nanak, and Naya Shivala were the outcome. His patriotic vision however was gloomy more or less. We would quote a few lines from his Taswir-i-Dard (the portrait of sorrow) written in 1904—

> My story does not implore your patient hearing,
> Silence is my speech and dumbness is my tongue.
> O India ! I cannot check tears at your sight,
> Of all stories thine is one that admonishes.
> The sky has lightning concealed in its sleeve,
> The nightingales of the garden should not nestle in repose.

His countrymen were to him 'scattered beads of a rosary' which he longed to see restrung. He exhorted them to overcome short-sightedness and bias.

In Europe he could realize more acutely the very unsatisfactory state of affairs in most Muslim lands and the dangers they were beset with. He collaborated with Dr. Abdullah Al-Mamun Suhrawardy to start the Pan-Islam society.

So it is pretty obvious that he was led to the ideal of Selfhood by his sense of frustration in respect of India and the dangers to which the Muslim world was exposed. Of the modern Muslim thinkers he is indebted most to Syed Jamaluddin Al-Afghani who flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century and tried to drive home into the fallen Muslim world the message of scientific outlook and political resurgence. His endeavours proved fruitful in the Near Eastern countries. But although an astute thinker himself the Syed's role was that of a political preacher. Iqbal tried to go deep down into the causes of the dounfall of Mussalmans and came off convinced that the root cause was the ideal of self-surrender and renunciation as taught by the Sufis which Mussalmans must discard and take to building up of the Self and winning of recognition in the wide world.

According to Dr. Nicholson Iqbal is indebted to Nietzsche for his idea of stubborn Selfhood. He is right of course; but the differences between the two philosophers should also be marked. Nietzsche is no believer in God, nor in the worth of the masses, nor of women; but Iqbal is a believer in God, and though not a thorough-going

democrat yet believes in the nobler possibilities of the common folk; as for women he does not place them on a footing of equality with men, but values their sweetness of disposition and beauty, and wants them to be good housewives and mothers.

We are however inclined to think that Iqbal's idea of Selfhood though strengthened by Nietzsche owes its nurture particularly to Goethe who figures quite prominently in Iqbal's writings and who stressed the value of human personality in his writings as well as in his own life. We would offer the following points for consideration in this connection :

(1) In his boyhood Goethe once worshipped God in a novel way. His father had a good collection of ores which the boy-priest arranged on a beautiful piece of wood. These represented the world of matter, and on these ores he placed his pastel pencil which he lit up one fine morning with the help of a sun-glass—the smoke emitted by the pastel pencil represented the hymn of the human heart. The pastel pencil however got burnt and ended in burning the good piece of wood below. Goethe remarks on this happening :

The accident might almost be considered a hint and warning of the danger there always is in wishing to approach the deity in such a way.

Personality, according to Iqbal, is not to be submerged in God, rather, it is to be developed by assimilating the attributes of God who is the supreme person.

(2) Goethe says in his famous poem "the Divine" that nature is governed by blind forces, it is only human beings who possess reason and conscience by which they discriminate between good and evil and nurture what is noble; they should try to be like the gods whom they undertake to contemplate.

(3) Goethe did not favour reason uncontrolled by the sense of the good. He says: that which brings freedom of the spirit but not self-mastery to the same extent, is pernicious. In his Faust Mephistopheles is described as the spirit that denies, in other words, he does not believe in any higher possibilities of man and the world and represents sharp intellect only.

Iqbal places love above reason in their relation to the development of the Self.

(4) Goethe had a very striking appearance too: he was called Apollo in youth and Jupiter in old age. Napoleon's remark on him "Voila un Homme" is historic.

(5) With regard to religious life Goethe observes that the highest religion (Reverence) consists in revering oneself; this self-reverence should of course be free from all sense of egotism and greed.

(6) The following is a famous stanza of Goethe in celebration of the Self:

None can fall into nothingness,
The eternal resides in all of us.
So be blessed in existence.
Existence is eternal, fixed laws
Preserve its everliving wealth;
The world is made resplendent that way.

Nietzsche was an admirer of the personalities of Zarathustra, Caesar, Muhammad, Goethe and Mirabeau. As regards the personality of the Prophet Muhammad a companion of his admits that he and his brother-companions would not dare to look straight at the Prophet's face. We would, considering all these, hold that Iqbal's idea of Selfhood, which was inspired and reared by Nietzsche and Goethe, was stabilized by the Prophet's teaching "Imbue yourself with the attributes of God" and Mansur Hallaj's utterance "'Anal Huq—I am truth", and finally the Prophet Muhammad whom he calls Insan-i-Kamil, the Perfect Man, came to be the poet's supreme Hero.

In the East the Ego has broadly been divided into two categories: the 'raw ego' and the 'ripe ego' in the phraseology of the great modern mystic Ramkrishna Paramahansa. The 'raw ego' is the ignorant, weak and unsteady ego and the 'ripe ego' is the steady ego rooted in God or Truth. And in remembrance of this 'ripe ego'—
The Buddha says: Be a light unto thyself; be a refuge unto thyself;
The Gita says: Be a means only—an instrument in the hand of God;
The Bible says: The meek shall inherit the earth;
The Quran says: Believe in God and do good deeds...fight in the way of God.
The Sufis say: Die before death.

The utterances are not of course wholly identical in content; their varied influences on human history also bespeak their differences. Yet they have this outstanding thing common among them that all of them emphasize the need of man's raising himself above the turmoils of his every day life and of attaining self-composure.

Is Iqbal's 'Self' the old 'ripe ego' of the oriental mystics? Let us hear what he has to say:

To express itself is the nature of the Self,
In every particle sleeps the might of the self.
Life lies concealed in seeking,
Its origin is shrouded in desire.
Knowledge is an instrument for the protection of life:
Knowledge is a means of strengthening the self.
The particle of light, which is called Self,
Is the spark of life underneath our dust.
By love it is made more lasting,
More living, more burning, more effulgent.

Iqbal's Self is obviously restless, thirsting for growth—it is not 'composed'. But he says further:

Transmute a handful of dust into gold,
Kiss the threshold of the Perfect Man.
Strive for obedience, O headless!
Discipline leads to leadership.
Whosoever does not govern himself,
He shall be governed by others.
It is good to be the Representative of God,
It is good to rule over the elements.
Whosoever draws the sword for anything else but God,
His sword plunges in his own bosom.

These lines, especially the last four, indicate fairly well that the well known 'ripe ego' of the East and Iqbal's Self differ not so much in kind as in degree. Self-composure (of the Buddhist), the residing in the Brahman (of the Gita) and allied religious attitudes are not really quietistic inasmuch as the Buddhists had to preach from land to land, Arjuna had to engage himself in a deadly war, and the Sufis had to serve God's creatures (Khidmat-i-Khalq). It is of course undeniable that the tendency of the oriental 'ripe ego' has been towards quietism, and Iqbal's ever-active 'Self' desiring the Immense, the Infinite is, from that standpoint, highly significant, not only for Mussalmans but for the entire Orient of the present day; and he is, for this reason, to be reckoned a great force in the modern East. What Asia and Africa need most is their will to shake off inaction and refashion themselves healthier and nobler. The will has found expression in a good number of modern thinkers of the East, and in Iqbal's poetry it has blossomed into a flame of rare brilliance. He is therefore bound to be an idol of the Eastern youth although for the time being he is an idol of only the Muslim youth of India.

It is however thus far that we ourselves can enjoy the company of Iqbal, after which we have to part from him in our understanding of the social and political implications of the doctrine of the development of the Self and also in our understanding of Muslim history and culture. And our differences seem to be fundamantal: Iqbal seems to hold that revival of old religion and culture is possible and desirable while we consider it to be an impossibility—"That which the hour creates that can it use alone" *—the Past in our view can only provide some inspiration for us if our desire to act in the present is honest. So Iqbal the thinker is somewhat less prized by us than Iqbal the poet, and we even apprehend that like Nietzsche's thoughts which have been instrumental in releasing the forces of destruction in Europe, Iqbal's thoughts too are liable to such misinterpretation—Bankimchandra's thoughts have been so misinterpreted—that his genius and personality may be a source of grief, and not joy, for his countrymen for years.† On the unwanted outcome of both the ideal of fight and the ideal of self-composure Tagore observes in his Religion of Man:

On the ideal of fight:

> When the aggressive activity of will, which naturally accompanies physical vigour, fails to accept the responsibility of its ideal, it breeds unappeasable greed for material gain, leads to unmeaning slavery of things, till amidst a raging conflagration of clashing interests the tower of ambition topples down to the dust.

On the ideal of self-composure:

> As activities of a vigorous vitality may become unmeaning and thereupon smother the soul with a mere multiplicity of material, so the peace of the extinguished desire may become the peace of death; and the inner world, in which we would dwell, become a world of incoherent dreams.

It is the duty of every intellectual worker, and more so of the lovers of Iqbal, to try to avert such an undesirable consummation of his genius which is otherwise so significant for the age; and with this object in view the life Iqbal lived should find sufficient publicity along with his ideas. He glorified 'desire' no doubt, but himself he styled a 'faqir'—having nothing—and his poverty was clean of all greed, he never approached a wealthy or influential man and even

* Goethe—Faust (First Scene).

† The original essay was written in 1943 and read in an Iqbal anniversary at Rajshahi, East Bengal.

refused spontaneous monetary help. He declared repeatedly that the growth of the Self is thwarted by begging and augmented by 'desire'. So his 'desire' is really another name for ceaseless endeavour in the uphill path of achieving greatness individually as well as collectively, as Goethe has it:

He only gains and keeps his life and freedom
Who daily has to conquer them anew.

And along with his noble life should be remembered these three truisms: Firstly: Iqbal desired no doubt the amelioration of the condition of Mussalmans, "O Lord, enkindle a living desire in the heart of the Mussalman. . ." was his fervent prayer, but his prayer must be understood to mean that he could not desire the well-being of the Mussalmans in disregard of the well-being of all other peoples, which would render meaningless his love of God and truth. He could think more of Mussalmans than of men because he was a poet, a lover of the particular, of the concrete, and because the Mussalmans so wretched, formed his immediate environment. Secondly: the growth of the Self which he desires so keenly can never be rushed; any haste in the matter without the requisite ground work and preparation is bound to lead to disaster. Says one of our foremost Bauls :—

O thou cruelly impatient! Shouldst thou bake in fire the bud of man's mind?
Shouldst thou fry it, in thy impatience, to make it fragrant?
Look, how our Supreme Master takes ages to ensure the blossoming of a lotus—He is in no hurry!

Thirdly: By his turning away completely from modern European culture under the conviction that it is heading towards destruction—in one of his last poems he writes: the musk brought by this merchant (European thinker) is from the navel of the dog "Mushk-e-in saudagaraz naf-e-sagast"—and by lending his full weight on the side of oriental spirituality he does not show insight enough inasmuch as with all their glaring weaknesses and insufficiencies the scientific outlook and the indomitable pursuit of human good of modern Europe are still great spiritual assets for mankind; and the spirituality of the East should supplement them instead of placing itself in opposition to them.

We wish the great consuming desire of Iqbal a noble fruition.

HEDONISM

S. G. SATHAYE, PH.D.

Having seen in the previous article on " Sitting in Judgment "* that the fundamental ethical problem is how one can act, and decided that morality of an action depends on the rationality which it exhibits in the wider sense, let us now examine the theory of Hedonism.

According to the tenets of modern psychology our consciousness has three distinguishable but inseparable aspects, namely, cognition, conation and affection. The Ethics of Hedonism makes " affection " the basis of moral actions, and decides that we ought to do what brings us pleasure and avoid that which causes pain. This ethical principle is plausible, because at the biological level, especially when consciousness begins to play a role in animal behaviour, there is a good deal of evidence that an organic activity which is directed in terms of self-preservation or race-preservation is mainly influenced by the factor of pleasure. Even when we come to the latest stage of evolution when Man appears, we find that ordinarily we human beings behave in a particular way because we are guided by the principles of pleasure and pain. We are more inclined to accept that action which leads us to pleasure and avoid that which causes pain. Many of our activities to-day will show how we love creature comfort, how we introduce scientific inventions to make this life easier and pleasanter. Whilst some of us still cling to the more elevated conception that the various sciences have made progress because the scientists cared more for ' knowledge for its own sake ' than for mundane results, it is quite clear that whatever the scientists' motives may be in making the discoveries and inventions, the consequences of their researches can now be put to increase pleasure or pain in this world, according to how one desires to use scientific knowledge. A study of Medicine, Engineering in its various branches, Botany, Zoology, Agriculture, Physics, Chemistry, and of whatever other sciences you wish to choose, will show how modern advancement in each adds to our knowledge of reality and becomes a handmaid to our motives of pleasure and pain. Whilst it is true that some scientific research is conducted for no ulterior purpose, it is also true that the motives of pleasure and pain have also given an incentive to scientific

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advancement. Knowledge is power, and the more we know about reality the better we are able to produce pleasure in this world, if we so desire.

Now the question is whether we can make the motive of pleasure the essence of a "moral action"? Can we define "pleasure" as "good", and make these two terms convertible ? In other words, are we right in saying that those actions which produce pleasure are good, and those actions alone are pleasant which produce goodness. We must confess that pleasure and goodness are not co-extensive terms. There are some actions which are pleasant but not good. For instance, a man who takes delight in treating other people as slaves and servants, is pleased with his actions when he orders them about without respecting their humanity, but no one, except perhaps the evil doer, will call them good. On the other hand, there are some good actions which are not pleasant. Take, for example, the work of Social Welfare. It is something good, but the achievement of this good does not necessarily yield pleasure to one who is engaged in it. In fact, the person entrusted with this work may have to go to enormous pains to produce good results. One often finds that when one is made responsible to do a good work, one's efforts are thankless. It is, therefore, evident that Hedonism, when it equates pleasure with goodness, is not tenable either logically or practically.

A Hedonist generally argues that whatever we may say, we cannot deny that every ordinary human being desires pleasure. However much a moralist may decry egotism, the ego-centric predicament is insurmountable. Unless we accept ourselves as the centre of activity, whether it may be that of thinking, feeling or acting, we cannot proceed further. And every activity, when it is successfully completed, gives pleasure to the agent. An activity which produces goodness, therefore, must satisfy the agent when it is carried out *satisfactorily*, although it may be unpleasant while it is in process, or thankless as far as other people are concerned. An activity may or may not be accompanied by pleasure when it is proceeding, but when it is finished satisfactorily it must produce pleasure for the agent. According to the Hedonist, therefore, those who hold other theories in preference to Hedonism, do so because it gives them pleasure to do so, whatever the nature of their pleasure may be, and however painful it may be for them to explain their theories. There is, therefore, in his opinion, this inseparable connection between a satisfactory activity and pleasure and he raises this relationship to the status of the essence of a good action.

But these statements from the hedonist conceal various logical fallacies. He assumes that we always desire pleasure and concludes that we ought to desire pleasure, but neither the assumption nor the conclusion are tenable. A psychological analysis of our behaviour shows that we do not always desire pleasure, that sometimes we desire to avoid pain or to be just indifferent. The term "pleasure" is rather ambiguous, inasmuch as it means a mental state as well as an object which gives pleasure. We seem to desire pleasure in both these senses. At times we desire a mental state in which we are pleased, and at others objects which give us pleasure. Ordinarily, when we are not aesthetically inclined, we desire objects not for what they are but for what effects they produce on our consciousness. For instance, when we eat or drink or ride a bicycle, we desire an eatable or a drink or the bicycle not for its own sake but for what pleasure it gives.

The criticism that some ethical theorists pass on Hedonism on the ground that we do not immediately desire pleasure but objects which bring pleasure is therefore not convincing.

Now let us see whether it is ethical to conclude from the fact that we sometimes desire pleasure that we ought to do so. The paradox of pleasure is indicative of the brute facts of life and brings it home to us that the more we desire pleasure the further it recedes from us, but it is not an argument against Hedonism. A hedonist will probably say in reply that whether we achieve pleasure or not, it is desirable and we ought to desire it.

This question, as we will notice, gives rise to several other questions. If we say we ought to desire pleasure, we want to know why we ought to do so. Moreover, as we live in a society our conceptions about pleasure vary from person to person. There is also a need to know whose pleasure we ought to desire, whether it is our own or of a group of people related to or in friendship with us, or of as many people as we can manage, or of all of us. Moreover, as there are various kinds of pleasures which follow sensations, perceptions, images, memories, intellect, physical activities, aesthetic activities, and moral activities, we must know which kind (s) of pleasure (s) we ought to desire.

We also experience that our pleasures involve various factors, such as intensity, duration, certainty, propinquity, fecundity, extension, purity, etc., and we must decide which of those factors ought to be given predominance when we desire pleasure.

Our pleasures not only differ in quality but also in quantity. It is, therefore, quite in order to enquire of the hedonist who urges that we ought to desire pleasure, how much pleasure, ought we to desire. And, finally, we should be clear about the nature of this 'ought'. We should endeavour to find out whether the 'ought' prescribed by the hedonist is really a moral category, or whether it is a social, economic, legal or political concept.

Let us, therefore, examine Hedonism on the basis of the questions raised above. In the first place, when we ask why we ought to desire pleasure, we may be confronted with the following answers: (*a*) we ought to desire pleasure because we ought to, irrespective of any moral considerations, because our lives are conditioned by the vagaries of time and space and they are so short that there is no time to "stand and stare", let alone think in moral terms. 'We are here to-day and gone to-morrow', and, therefore, we ought to make the best use of our time in this world, live from moment to moment, and enjoy every minute of it. (*b*) We ought to desire pleasure because it is good in itself. We avoid pain because it is not easy to bear it and we cannot be indifferent if we want to live. Ordinarily we describe pain as bad in itself, and obviously we cannot make it a principle of action unless we, like sadists, take delight in producing pain in this world. Consequently, according to this view of life, we ought to desire pleasure because it is good in itself. (*c*) We ought to desire pleasure not because it is good in itself but because it is a means of producing goodness in this world. In other words, we ought to desire pleasure because it is good as a means.

We shall now scrutinise these answers one by one, and see whether they are ethically satisfactory. To begin with, we shall proceed with (*a*) We ought to desire pleasure because we ought to, irrespective of moral considerations. This doctrine is avowedly maintained by persons who are engaged on routine work which does not involve much thinking, and whose spare time is devoted to enjoying ordinary pleasures of life mechanically. For instance, there are quite a few men and women in this world who go to pictures once a week, or twice a week, regularly, just because they feel they must, or visit a public house mechanically without giving a thought, and enjoy their pleasures without thinking about them. Seeking pleasure, or rather accepting it as it comes, automatically, is a corollary to a living which is full of automatic and habitual responses to the stimuli. This principle is also practised by the lazy rich and by those who are anxious to avoid facing situations which demand rationality in think-

ing, feeling and acting. If we are to live from moment to moment, or to accept pleasures as they come, we will not be any different from animals, whose activities are guided by impulses and instincts. But, we have a capacity to think, feel and act objectively. We possess rationality and can use it rightly when we are really ourselves. We notice the differences between the degrees, qualities and quantities of pleasures and we also know from our experience that some of our pleasures are physically, mentally and morally unhealthy. We cannot live our individual lives unless we know which pleasures we ought to choose from amongst the conflicting mass of pleasures. Thus, if we have conflicting desires we must be able to decide which desire we should satisfy. When our own minds are confronted with more than one choice of pleasures, we must use our rationality, otherwise our individual lives would be chaotic. There would be no incentive for refinement in our thoughts, feelings and actions. A mechanical acceptance of pleasures will not enable us to enjoy our reality. We will lose our own agency and freedom because 'pleasure' will become the dominating principle and we will be forced to do things against our own will. There will be no spontaneity in our action if against our real nature we are forced to accept whatever seems to us as pleasant. We will be unable to distinguish between the real and the unreal pleasures, good and bad pleasures, healthy and unhealthy pleasures. In short, on the whole we will find ourselves unhappy. The seriousness of the consequences of this principle becomes more obvious when we consider it in the context of social life. One man's meat may be another man's poison, and if pleasures of one person conflict with those of another, then there is no common bond between them, on the basis of this principle, upon which they can compromise or co-operate. The only consequence is the acceptance of the doctrine of 'might is right'. In the world of to-day, when serious attempts are made to bring about an international co-operation and good-will, the pleasure principle, construed in such narrow terms, would be disastrous.

Ought we then to enjoy pleasure because it is good in itself? This leads us to the analysis of the second answer. We have noticed in the above that not all pleasures are good. Some are physically unhealthy, others are mentally and morally unhealthy. Thus, some organic pleasures are enjoyable while they last, but eventually prove harmful to our health. Sadistic pleasures (when one enjoys being cruel to others), or masochistic pleasures (when one enjoys self-chastisement) are not good in themselves. They reveal the abnormality of the mind and must be understood and avoided.

Can we then argue that pleasures may not be good in themselves but may be good as a means for our livelihood? The argument becomes plausible when it is argued that when the concept of pleasure is used as a means, it gives an incentive to refine our thoughts, feelings and actions. Thus a man who considers his pleasures and pleasures of other people in so far as they lead to the Common Good, is likely to become a good scientist and to find labour saving devices which give pleasure, or a connoisseur of artistic things, or a benevolent moralist. But such an argument breaks down when it is observed that a scientist or an artist or a moralist does not always use pleasure (whether in the sense of a mental state or in the sense of an object which produces pleasure) as a means to providing good results. A physician, for instance, uses both sweet pills and bitter pills, soothing massage or operation, to restore the health of his patient. This is so also in other sciences. An impressionist artist uses the method of distortion to produce aesthetic effects. A moralist sometimes uses unpleasant actions to produce goodness in the society in which he lives. It therefore means that pleasure is not necessarily employed for producing the desired end. In view of the fact that its universal application may lead to some disastrous effects in our social and individual lives, we cannot accept pleasure even in its instrumental capacity as the principle of a moral action. Moreover, to argue that "pleasure" ought to be desired as a means for something other than itself is to go beyond the tenets of psychological Hedonism.

We have already seen elsewhere* that an action to be moral must include consciousness as an integral part of it. As moral activity is spontaneous and free, it is bound to include in its conscious part an element of pleasure. But this element of action cannot be abstracted and made the guarantor of a moral action. It may at best be a sign of morality, in its appropriate context. In other words, we ought not to desire it for its own sake irrespective of moral considerations. Being a mental state which forms an element of consciousness which is integral to action, the state of pleasure need not be intended. As it forms a part of the mental or psychological make-up, it occurs as an event. To explain this in other words, we can say that once we accept equality, freedom and mutuality as the determinants of a moral action, the resulting action will *naturally* include an element of pleasure. What is more important ethically in an action is not the

* Please see article entitled "Sitting in Judgement" published by Calcutta Review 1948 June issue.

pleasure that it produces, but the realization of equality, freedom and mutuality in and through it.

Being dissatisfied with the answers given by the hedonist to the question why we *ought* to desire pleasure, let us now subject his theory to further analysis, and enquire whose pleasure it is that we ought to desire. As we live in societies and groups and communities, and as our ideas about pleasure vary from person to person, we ought to know whose pleasure we ought to regard as binding from the point of view of an action, because as we have often insisted that, our main question in ethics is how to act. The answer to this question will involve us in the analysis of two ethical theories which are known as Egotism and Altruism respectively. According to Egotism, every one ought to desire one's own pleasure and do things for the society in so far as they yield pleasure for oneself. An Altruist, on the other hand, is anxious to work for the pleasure of other people, even if this means displeasure and hardship to himself. He is a person who satisfies his own pleasures in so far as they are useful in augmenting the pleasures of other people.

Let us see whether Egotistic Hedonism is practicable. If one is to look after one's own pleasures and after those of others, in so far as they increase one's own, then one has to decide what kind of pleasure and what quantity of pleasure ought one to prescribe for the morality of one's actions and in determining this one has to go beyond the principle of pleasure and accept a principle higher than Hedonism in its moral quality. If one decides to accept pleasures any how, as they come, without discrimination, one may deprive oneself of the pleasures which follow from the refinment of emotions and from rationality in action. Moreover, common experience shows that there are some real pleasures and some unreal pleasures. The former are rational and the latter, though apparently enjoyable, are really painful in the end. To distinguish between them, even for one's own interest, would mean the admission of the power of rationality and, therefore, of the acceptance of a principle which is a common possession of all human beings. Another refutation of Egotism on the basis of morality seems to come from the fact that Egotism could mean the denial of our agency. If pleasure is something which happens or occurs as a natural event, then in accepting it we need not use our rationality or agency. For instance, it is quite possible to produce pleasure by drinking or by taking drugs. The denial of agency would mean the reduction of ourselves to the level of animals. It would in turn mean the denial of the activity

of thinking. The conclusion that we can draw from this state of affairs is that in the absence of the activity of thinking one could not form a theory of Egotism. In theory, therefore, Egotism would stultify itself. A more convincing refutation of Egotism would, however, be that of practical contradiction into which it would involve us. Thus, if everyone looked to his own pleasures, and if everyone had a different idea of pleasure, then the social life would be impossible, unless a principle other than that of pleasure were to be accepted. There would soon be conflicts in the individual lives as well as in social intercourse, and in the absence of rationality the only solution would be in the acceptance of the principle that "might is right".

Let us now turn to the principle of Altruism. What is the basis of such a theory? In ordinary experience we find that just as there are selfish people there are also people who are interested genuinely in the welfare of other people. According to Bentham, the basis of Altruism is found in the fact that the desire for the welfare of others is cultivated in us by our every day experience that the welfare of others is identical with our own pleasures. Mill attempts a reconciliation between Egoism and Altruism by saying that each person desires his own pleasures, and therefore each person desires the pleasures of all. His argument, however, contains a logical fallacy of composition and is theoretically invalid. It is also practically untenable, in view of the fact that every one of us may have a different idea of pleasure.

Man is defined as a social animal, which means that man has a capacity to live in a society. He has not only a gregarious instinct, and other instincts which bring him in active co-operation with the other members of his group, but has rationality. He has, when he acts from his real nature, a rational regard for the pleasures of other people and is therefore in a real sense an altruist by nature. But Altruism when not conceived in this general way as based upon the rationality of man, but on some other motive, then its ethical significance becomes questionable. For instance, it is possible for one person to wish others well in his own interest. Those who like to impose their own views on others generally plead that they do so in the interest of others. On the other hand, when Altruism is extolled at the expense of rational claims of a self, there is once again the denial of agency. It is not ethical to make ourselves instruments for the pleasure of others. Moreover, what we regard as pleasures may not be considered as pleasure by our beneficiaries, and to force them to accept what we decide to be pleasant is to reject their capacity to think

or feel or act for themselves. A moral responsibility is "personal" and not transferable. As we saw in the article on "Sitting in Judgment" an action implies freedom, equality and mutuality. It also implies agency and spontaneity. Egotism and Altruism involve in the final analysis a denial of equality of agents, their freedom and mutuality. Our judgments based upon those theories will therefore not do justice to morality. Our own conclusion, in the light of what has gone before, is that when action is free and spontaneous, and exhibits mutuality, freedom and equality of agents, it will bring pleasure to the agent who acts and to the agent(s) to whom his action refers.

In the foregoing discussion we noticed that our pleasures are different in quality and quantity, and we must decide what kind of pleasure and how much of it should be desired for judging the morality of our actions. We have, as we know, pleasures of the senses, pleasures of the intellect, and pleasures which result from refinement of our emotions and actions. The pleasure that we get from seeing a thing is not comparable to the pleasure that we get from eating a thing. The pleasure that a mathematician gets from his intellectual exercise is not comparable to the pleasure that he gets from enjoying an Opera. How then can we say which one we ought to select? The intensity, duration, nearness, and such other factors as enter into our different pleasures, make it all the more difficult to measure them. Intimately linked with the question of qualities of pleasure is that of the quantities of pleasure and a Utilitarian who advocates the principle of the greatest pleasure for the greatest number finds it most difficult to give a clear cut answer to these questions. If we are unable to say how pleasures can be measured, and how they can be chosen according to their quality, the pleasure principle cannot be used in practice.

A Utilitarian thinks of agents in terms of the units of pleasure they are able to produce, and advocates the pleasures for the maximum number of individuals. He fails to realize that besides pleasure and pain there are other useful motives. He also fails to see that although from a social point of view the greatest pleasure of the greatest number is a useful expedient for social reforms, it does not give a universal doctrine. There are always some people left out of account in such a principle when the pleasures of the greatest number are considered.

Whilst the theory of Utilitarianism is plausible and gives an impression that the greatest number or majority is taken care of, if we practise it, in effect it does not attempt to establish whether majority

is always right in expecting pleasures. It may be that in some instances the pleasures desired by the minority which are not acceptable to the majority, may be more ethical and rational. The concept of rationality which is wider than Utilitarian Hedonism, and which aims at the freedom, equality and brotherhood, is a more ethical principle, and more difficult to practise because it implies throwing away a good deal of pretence in thinking, feeling and acting, and demands a more rigorous self-examination than is called for by other moral theories. Utilitarianism, as we have contended, implies the denial of agency in one way or another. If we are to create the greatest pleasure or the greatest balance of pleasure for the greatest number, then we must know how pleasure is to be measured. In doing this we make our rationality, that is our own real nature subservient to pleasure. In other words, we become instruments for producing or accepting pleasures and as instruments lose our capacity to judge what is right or wrong. We do what is expedient but this is not the same thing as doing the right thing. Production of pleasures may be used for good or bad purposes and mere production of maximum pleasure does not guarantee its goodness. It may be true that the Utilitarian principle may be used for advancement of science or refinement of feelings, but it is not necessarily conducive to morality in our actions. We know that scientific results may be put to a good or a bad use. They may be used for the construction or the destruction of social life. The weapons of war, for instance, which are being perfected day by day by scientific methods, may be used for the defence or destruction of freedom. For some people such a consequence would be pleasing, but for others it may cause genuine pain. How then can we decide morality of an action in terms of its consequences if the same consequences cause pain to some and pleasure to others; if the same consequences are useful to some and useless to others? Can we decide morality, in such cases, by "majority rule", as the Utilitarians do? Is it not possible for a majority to be wrong? Since there is this possibility we cannot certify the morality of our actions because most people perform them. A majority of people may be, however, prejudiced in their beliefs, and it is therefore clear in the moral sphere that mere numbers do not count. The reality of their personality, the rationality of their feelings, thoughts and actions is the true determinant of the morality of their actions. Actions, as we have always maintained, which are moral are spontaneous and exhibit freedom, equality and mutuality of agents who perform them and of persons at whom they are directed.

Let us now examine the nature of 'ought' in the Hedonistic theory. That species of Hedonism which maintains that we desire pleasure need not have an 'ought', because if we do desire pleasure then there is no point in saying that we ought to desire it. An egoist or an altruist who is unable to say which kinds of pleasures and what quantities of pleasures are to be desired, and who, in fact, is unable to point out unambiguously what pleasure is, cannot be said to have a proper conception of an 'ought'. In actual practice, when an action needs guidance, a Hedonist seems to suggest some sort of political, religious, natural or social sanction which one should obey. All these external sanctions for action are Hedonistic because they imply that when sanctions are obeyed there is pleasure, and when they are disobeyed a person is liable to punishment and, therefore, to experiencing pain. When such external sanctions are imposed on an individual his activities are not free but forced. That is why in actual practice the Utilitarian theory results in an authoritarian ethics or in a mechanical morality. Mill introduced in the Utilitarian morality the concept of an internal sanction from conscience, but in doing so he goes beyond Hedonism. It turns out then that on the whole the nature of 'ought' as an external sanction, which appears in Hedonistic ethics, is not a determinant of morality. At the most it may be useful as an expedient, but it cannot make actions moral.

Round The World

Autonomy of the Universities—

In Christmas Week was held at Madras the Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities. One of the most important subjects discussed was that of their autonomy. During British rule there was hardly an Indian who did not advocate the full enjoyment of freedom by these corporate bodies. But today there are some who appear to believe that the emphasis on the autonomy of the Universities during British rule was due to the fact that the Government was foreign and anti-national in policy. Government control was bad because the Government was British in character and composition and not because all Government control was unacceptable. Now that the Government happens to consist of the representatives of the people, there may not be any harm in allowing them to control the Universities. This line of thinking has become dangerous. It should be remembered that democratic system succeeds only when different independent centres of thought and activity have full opportunity of development without interference from above. To this end local bodies should be endowed with sufficient responsibility to perform local functions in their own way. We appear, however, to be very indifferent to the future of our local institutions and are easily reconciled not only to the exercise of increasing Government control over them but even to their complete supersession. Such indifference results only in the destruction of local centres of thought and activity and in centralisation of power in the hands of the Government which with its inefficient personnel has already been handicapped in the dischargs of its own responsibilities and finds itself at sea when these new responsibilities are taken over. Apart again from greater inefficiency which results from the loss of power by the local bodies, it is important to remember that the people lose thereby the habit of running a public institution.

In regard to the Universities the arguments which are cited in favour of maintaining the autonomy of local bodies apply with greater force. Universities are there not only to train men for the Government services but to advance learning, open out new chains of thought and create new ideals. These functions can properly be undertaken only in an atmosphere of freedom and under conditions of autonomy. Let the Governing Body of the University be composed of men with necessary experience of different aspects of scholarship and human activity and let this body be the final authority in determining the course of development of higher education. Not unoften the slogan is repeated that those who pay the piper

should call for the tune. As the Government has to finance the activities of the Universities, the former should lay down conditions under which the money granted by it is to be spent. The Government should further have the right of exercising control so as to see that the conditions as laid down by it are being acted up to. This is no doubt the underlying principle of grant-in-aid. But the relationship between the Government and the Universities is not to be regulated by this principle. Every body knows that higher education has to be heavily subsidised by the Government. If, however, this subsidy is to be paid according to the rules of grant-in-aid, the Universities will come completely under the control of the Government and to that extent the chief object of having Universities will be stultified. The Conference did well by recommending the reorganisation of the Grants Committee and by asking for Government grants being distributed among the Universities through that body. In the United Kingdom the Universities have on this basis been assured of sufficient Government grant without the sacrifice of any portion of their autonomy. We only hope that some such procedure will be acted up to in this country as well.

CAB and Secondary Education—

At its 15th session held at Allahabad last month, the Central Advisory Board of Education adopted with slight modification the following recommendations of its Committee on Secondary Education:—

1. The teaching of the federal language should be started at the end of the junior basic stage and should be compulsory throughout the pre-secondary stage but may be optional thereafter.
2. The federal language should become a compulsory subject at the secondary stage when English ceases to be the medium of instruction in the Universities.
3. Secondary schools should ordinarily be of multilateral type but where local circumstances demand, unilateral schools should not be discouraged.
4. There should be one public examination at the end of the secondary stage and Universities may, for admission purposes, lay down such conditions as they deem fit.
5. The pay and conditions of service of teachers should be the same as recommended by the CAB of Education, though scales of pay should be revised in the light of the changes that have lately taken place.
6. The period of training should not be less than one year and after every five years there should be a refresher course.
7. Youth movements and Scout movements should be encouraged in schools.

8. Provincial Boards should be set up to advise provincial educational authorities on problems connected with secondary education.

Provincial Governments and Boards of Secondary Education—

The last recommendation as set forth above is that there should be Provincial Boards to advise Provincial Governments on problems connected with secondary education. The purport of the recommendation evidently is that responsibility for maintaining and expanding institutions for secondary education will be vested in the Provincial Governments, which however may take advice from advisory boards in tackling problems which may arise in this regard from time to time. It should be stated here that thers is another view widely prevalent in the country that the responsibility of the Government in respect of education in all its stages should consist only in passing suitable legislations according as needs for them arise and provide money. These laws are to be enforced and money spent by statutory autonomous bodies. Establishment and affiliation of schools, distribution of grants, inspection of these institutions, holding of examinations, determination of syllabus, selection of text-books—all these and other ancillary matters are not merely functions of an executive character. Many of them require elaborate deliberation which can be undertaken only by a board, and a board is not to deliberate and arrive at a conclusion which may be turned down by an officer in the Education Department. So the Board's decision should be final. In Bengal the establishment of a Secondary Education Board has already been envisaged and a bill is likely to be introduced in the present session of the Legislative Assembly. At the time of writing this paragraph we have no definite information as to the provisions of the Bill except what was let out by the Education Minister in a Press Conference. The facts set forth at this Conference seem to indicate that the Board will be a compromise between autonomy and Government control.

Interference with Justice—

The danger of executive interference with justice is brought out into relief in a case which has recently been disposed of by the High Court at Patna. A merchant who is a Rai Sahib was accused of giving bribe to a marketing officer of the Department of Rationing and was being tried by a Magistrate. One member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly, however, wrote a letter to the District Magistrate of the district in which the trial was being held, and asked therein for the withdrawal of the case which was in his opinion a false one. The District Magistrate complied with the request and the case was withdrawn. But as a result of an interpellation in the Assembly the Provincial Government of Bihar re-started the case. Thereupon the same member of the Assembly wrote a letter (this time) to the Secretary to the relevant Government Department. As a result of

that the case was again withdrawn. The Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Das have now set aside the order of discharge and directed that prosecution be re-started. In so doing they observed that it was "highly improper for any one to communicate to the District Magistrate with reference to a pending case any matter which may have the effect of prejudicing his mind." As regards the letter which had been addressed to the Secretary, Department of Price Control, the Government declined to produce it for reasons of state. Their Lordships, however, refused to accept this as a valid ground for refusal to produce the letter. The case is an ugly one and illustrates the need of purifying public life in the country. In such purification separation of the judiciary from the executive may considerably help.

Pandit Nehru at the Indian Science Congress—

In inaugurating the 36th session of the Indian Science Congress at Allahabad Pandit Nehru exorted the Indian Scientists to make up for loss of time we had sustained under British rule and to go in for steady work in fundamental problems. "In the past owing to unnatural conditions prevailing in our country," he observed, "it was perhaps difficult to make an earnest sustained effort for the propagation of science and the application of its discoveries in an adequate and satisfactory manner. We have got to make up for the accumulated arrears of long years of neglect under alien domination so that poverty and disease, illiteracy and superstition may be wiped out and the average citizen may fully enjoy life, liberty and happiness without let or hindrance." As for the advance in scientific work which India has already made Pandit Nehru pointed out that it was not sufficient. Our workers, he thought, were not yet big enough in the scientific field as India would expect them to be. They were lost in the smaller things—in the mutual debates and arguments—and did not concentrate on real scientific work. He would like to see them engaged in fundamental work rather than in superficial work. He would like to see them inspired by the true spirit of science so that they might be led on to big achievements. He was aware that there were many young men of the right calibre engaged in scientific research. It was only necessary that they should have the proper spirit without which steady sustained work becomes out of the question.

Renewal of Dutch Imperialism in Java and Sumatra—

The mailed fist of Dutch imperialism has fallen heavy on the fair land of the East Indies. With the advance of the Japanese in 1942 the Dutch authority over these islands had to be rolled up and white control of centuries appeared to be over. The Indonesian nationalist leaders who were organising themselves for freeing their country from foreign domination had the opportunity of their life when Japan after three years of

hectic effort was tottering to its fall in 1945. They set up the Republican Government and arranged for a rule of Indonesia by the Indonesians in August of that year. At that time Holland was lying low. It had been under German occupation since 1940. Some of its cities had been destroyed, its Government was in exile, its people were themselves under the Nazi rod, its army was non-existent except for the little groups which were fighting abroad. Its Government in London had not the necessary resources for re-occupation of Indonesia after Japanese defeat. But it had white friends the interests of whose imperialism in the East were bound up with those of Dutch imperialism in Indonesia. It was known to the British that if Dutch interests suffered in Indonesia, their interests would ultimately suffer in Malaya, in India, in Burma and in Hongkong. So Lord Mountbatten, the South East Asia Commander, was asked to keep the bed warm in Indonesia for the Dutch to occupy it in time. In the same month that Indonesian Republic was declared under the leadership of Soekarno, Mountbatten assumed command over Java and Sumatra. Without this British assistance the Dutch would not have any foothold in Indonesia and the troubles of to-day would not arise at all. It is really the British who are the authors of the woe from which the Indonesian people happen to suffer at the present time. In any event with British co-operation the Dutch after reorganising their affairs at home sent batches of troops and other paraphernalia of government to Indonesia. A trial of strength between these new occupying forces and the Rebublican Government became inevitable. Frequent clashes were in fact reported. But in August, 1947, the Security Council to which the dispute had been referred succeeded in making effective the work of the Good Offices Committee it had sent to Indonesia. This Committee of course could not bring about a solution of the dispute, but during a period of sixteen months it stopped the outbreak of an open war. The Dutch were not idle during this period. They brought in reinforcements from Holland in batches and in December last they felt strong enough to ignore the Good Offices Committee, the Security Council and the U.N. and take the offensive. Jogjakarta was stormed and Republican leaders who were residing in these headquarters including Soekarno were taken into custody and other towns which were under Republican control were bombed and occupied. Meanwhile the Security Council was informed. It met tardily and adopted a milk and water type of resolution which cut no ice with the Dutch who ignored every one of the demands of the Security Council. They pointed out that Indonesia was a domestic problem in which the Security Council had no jurisdiction to interfere. Although this plea was unacceptable to the Security Council, actually it has so far done nothing to implement its resolution. This aggression in Indonesia, this ineptitude of the Security Council and the tacit support which countries like Britain gave not only to Dutch aggression but to their flouting

of the authority of the Security Council persuaded Pandit Nehru to break his silence and take some definite steps in this regard. His Government has taken the initiative in calling a Conference of Asian Powers at New Delhi. To this Conference Australia and New Zealand have also been invited. At the time of writing arrangements are being made for holding the Conference on the 20th of January. Response from invited countries has so far been favourable. Let us hope that something tangible will come out of this Conference for stemming this fresh tide of white imperialism in Asia.

Home-Coming of the Relics—

On the 14th January last the Buddhist relics which had been brought from London in 1947, were handed over, at a colourful ceremony held at Calcutta, by Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, to Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the President of the Mahabodhi Society. The honour which has been shown to these relics, has, to our knowledge, only one parallel in history. We mean the honour shown to the body of Napoleon when it was brought back from St. Helena twenty years after his death and interred in the Invalids. Exhumed from the humble grave where the body lay amidst shrubs, unrecognised and unhonoured, for two decades, it was carried to France in a man-of-war. Then from the coast to Paris the body was carried in a procession which attracted people from far and near all along the route and created an unheard of enthusiasm among them. A large concourse of distinguished men waited at the Invalids and stood up as the Usher announced "Gentlemen, the Emperor". This they did as spontaneously as they would when the living Emperor at the meridian of his power would appear in their midst. This was an honour shown not merely to a dead past but to a living ideal, an ideal of efficiency in administration and greatness in conception and aspiration. It was the revival of Bonapartism. The honour which was shown to the relics of Sariputta and Moggaliana at the ceremony held in the Calcutta Maidan was also in reality shown, as Pandit Nehru rightly emphasised, to the great ideal as embodied in the message of the Buddha.

Sariputta and Moggallana were the cadets of two wealthy Brahmin families settled in what is now the province of Bihar. Educated by Sanjaya, both remained unsatisfied with the knowledge they acquired from his teaching. Their aspiration was to know life and its mysteries. Leaving the company of their teacher they went in search of some one who might initiate them into these mysteries and make their knowledge full and perfect. Ultimately they were ushered into the presence of the Buddha whose contemporaries they were. They got from him what they had looked forward to and not only became his disciples but the chief among them. They became his right hand men in the dissemination of his ideas and the organisation of the Sangha. Both died in ripe old age

shortly before the Master's Parinirbana. Sariputta died a natural death while at peace with the world and his fellow men Moggallana was, however, more masterful and aggressive in temperament and created enemies, particularly among the Brahmin class. They regarded him as a chief obstacle in the pursuit of their profession and decided to remove him violently from their path. Brigands were hired and they laid violent hands on him while in prayer. We have no definite knowledge as to where their bones were at first interred. But two hundred years later the Emperor Asoka under whose auspices Buddhism developed from a local sect into a world religion removed some of these relics to Sanchi (in modern Bhopal) and interred them there under a Stupa. The Caskets containing these relics were discovered by Cunningham in course of his archaeological excavations in the fifties of the last century and removed to the Albert and Victoria Museum, London. Through the efforts of the Mahabodhi Society, these Caskets including the relics were brought from London in 1947 with the object of their ultimately being interred in a Vihara at Sanchi. During the last twenty-two months, however, they remained in Ceylon with a short sojourn in Burma. In these two countries the relics were worshipped by a large body of Buddhists.

On the sixth of January the relics left Ceylon in a sloop, H.I.M.S. Tiro, under the care of the Director-General of Archaeology, Government of India and reached Calcutta port on the 12th of that month. On the following morning, H.E. the Governor, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, went aboard the sloop at the head of a procession which included Dr. B. C. Roy, the Premier of Bengal, and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, the President of the Mahabodhi Society and took charge of the relics, which were brought to the Government House. It was from there that the relics were carried in the morning of the 14th January to the Maidan and handed over there by Pandit Nehru to Dr. Mookerjee In the ceremony which was held in this connection participated not only a large body of Buddhist monks from different countries but also official representatives of these countries including Burma, Siam, Ceylon, China, Tibet and Nepal. Bhutan and Sikkim were also represented there. Buddhism brought India into intimate contact with the outside world and it was only in the fitness of things that the home-coming ceremony of these great Buddhist relics would be the occasion for stimulating afresh India's intimacy with many nations, particularly those in South-East Asia.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Agnisanskar (in two volumes). **Pradhumita Vahni** and **Bhasmabasesh.** By Sri Manindra Narayan Ray, 1948.

It is not a frequent occurrence, in these modern days of increased printing costs, to meet with big novels in Bengali. The examples of Bibhuti Bandyopadhyaya and Mukhopadhyaya and of Annadasankar have receded far into the distance and they have not been followed up by our writers in general. On the Continent and in England too there seems to have been a revival in the form of a serial novel. The question is whether the experiences to be unfolded in the story really demand a novel, necessarily not short, to be extended into 3 or 4 volumes. Are we going beyond the mid-Victorians? The point requires consideration.

Sri Manindra Narayan Ray is no new entrant in literature. His experience has covered the literary, journalistic and political sides of our life. He has come in contact with various shades of formal opinions and impressions in the making, and the two volumes under review have tried to reflect some of them.

Even as late as 1914 we used to regret that contemporary events and trends in the political life of the country did not find any reflection in literature. The story narrated in the novel in the two volumes relates, however, to recent times—after 1940. The heroine without doubt is Subhadra, a girl who had been brought up by an Arya Samaj organisation and who, to render service to humanity as a nurse, for which she has been trained, has come over to a factory in Bengal. She meets Subodh, a devoted Congress Socialist and Arunangshu, a communist. Subodh, with his ideal of renunciation, austere and simple in his ways, cannot attract her as much as Arunangshu with his physical beauty and material possessions. There is something possessive in the influence which Arunangshu emanates, and Subhadra falls a victim to his charms. In Arunangshu's ideology, marriage is out of date, but Subhadra is with child; it is Arunangshu's, but she cannot thrust herself on him, specially when he described her as simply a "nurse" before his mother whose influence he cannot resist. This influence is not altogether for good, but it turns out to be evil so far as Subhadra is concerned, and it makes Arunangshu what he is.

Probably there is in him a weakness for things of the flesh; the mother's influence only quickens it. He is not averse to courting Anamika by alliance with whom he may better his material prospects. Anamika, however, has normal instincts, and sometimes Arunangshu attracts and sometimes repels her. Arunangshu does not improve on acquaintance; from a social worker he becomes a time-server, and a spy, the cause of all the tragedy that is in the book, in short, the villain of the piece.

Away from Arunangshu and Anamika, the tragedy centres round Subhadra. Subodh courts her and fails: he joins the Quit India movement, and does not obtrude. When he knows that Subhadra is in difficulty and Arunangshu has, as a matter of fact, deserted her, he again comes forward but his offer is not accepted. The novelist has in Subhadra drawn a remarkable picture of a self-reliant girl who is not deterred by bleak prospects for the future, who boldly shoulders her own burden full of a sense of self-respect more than ordinary.

After the birth of her child she becomes a victim of circumstances and is arrested by the police when she calls at the hospital to have a last look at Subodh Banerji's dead body. She realises it was Arunangshu who out of a sense of rivalry and also may be from party motives had given secret information to the police about Subodh. The novel ends with Subhadra being taken into custody with her child while her true friend Kamala stands looking on in a mood of agony and helplessness.

Apart from the main figure of the hero Subodh and the 'heroine' Subhadra (who, however, drift from each other and yet come together), the characters of Shyamacharan and Sarada are shown to be tough enough and indicate the strength of the material which, in the novelist's estimate, is in the community. The conflict between the old and the new, home and social work, the two sets of duties is patent enough, and has been well drawn.

The novelist is probably bent on proclaiming the immortality of the spirit and of the cause. The names of the two volumes are meant to indicate it. 'Agni-Samskāra' is, we suppose, the general name for the two volumes. This, by the way, is likely to create confusion to the reader. The different names of the two volumes might have been put inside rather than outside. Anyway, the fire has burnt itself out. Out of its ashes will spring a new life. Subhadra and Subodh may have been sacrificed, but the future generation typified in the baby may come out of the fire with new life and better prespects. It is here that the novelist has not given sufficient indication of the promise—and has failed to co-operate with the frontispiece of the 2nd volume. He has no doubt tried not to take sides, and has not, be it said to his credit, indulged in long-winded declamations.

Defects of printing in the first volume both in impression and in type are very much to be regretted.

P. R. Sen

Freedom, My Destiny. By Y. G. Krishnamurthi, Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Published by K. B. Dhawale for Phoenix Publications, Chira Bazar, Bombay—2.

The word freedom is a charm for subjugated people and a source of inspiration for those who are born free. It is the source of speculation

for philosophers who find in it that type of perfection which alone can shape and create equilibrium in this rather unbalanced universe of ours. The author rightly asserts that freedom is an eternal idea and many are the excellences that flow from it. It is a thought-provoking book.

M. B. B.

The Constitution of Free India. By Mrityunjay Banerjee, M.A., Published by Dasgupta & Co., College Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

This contains all the documents leading to the final passing of the Independence Act of India, together with the first session proceedings of the Constituent Assembly of India. Though its importance as a text ceases, it will remain a storehouse of information for students of Indian politics. The author deserves our thanks for his timely collection of the facts.

M.B.B.

Mother Tongue. By Prof. B. S. Audholia. Published by Padma Publications, Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

If the moderates failed because they carried on their propaganda in English the knowledge of which was confined to a microscopic minority only, the success of Gandhian philosophy and politics may, on the other hand, be traced to a great extent to the abandonment of this policy and to the adoption of Hindi and Hindusthani, the two representative languages of Modern India. The book clearly envisages the difficulties that lie ahead in accepting one or other of these as the medium of instruction and suggests plans to surmount them. The author deserves our congratulations for this treatise which we regard as illuminating, instructive and full of information.

H. C. Mookerjee

Indian States. By Gyan Chand, Published by Oxford University Press, Calcutta, and Madras, Price As. 8.

This short treatise will be helpful to students who want to study the complex economic problems of Indian States, a comparatively neglected matter in the study of Indian Economics though, recently, it is getting top rank priority.

"Peregrine Pickle"

Annihilation of Caste with a reply to Mahatma Gandhi. By Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Published by the author. Price As. 8.

This contains the speech prepared by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar for the 1936 Annual Conference of Jat-pat-torak-Mandal of Lahore, but which remained undelivered on account of the cancellation of his Presidentship. It was subsequently published with an appendix containing the articles written by Mahatma Gandhi in "Harijan" on the subject, and another containing a reply to the Mahatma.

"Peregrine Pickle"

Ourselves

Universities Commission in Calcutta

The Indian Universities Commission which was constituted in November last has been out visiting the different University centres and taking the opinion of University authorities and individual educationists on the different issues on which it is to submit its recommendations to the Government of India. It was in Madras in Christmas week and visited Calcutta in the middle of last month. In fact from the 12th to the 19th of January the Commission was in this province. Its hours were crowded during this week's stay and its programme heavy. It visited many institutions of higher learning including the Viswabharati at Santiniketan and the College of Engineering at Jadavpur. Several Arts Colleges and engineering and medical institutions affiliated to this University were also visited by the Commission. This body headed by Professor Sarvapalli Radhakrisnan and including three distinguished foreign educationists consulted the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate, the Principals of Colleges, University teachers, and representatives of College teachers on the future set-up of University studies. One of the important questions on which the Commission is to submit its considered opinion is the medium of instruction in colleges and universities. It is our hope that the opinions and facts provided to the Commission at Calcutta will help it in formulating its own recommendations on the subject. The Commission could not finish its programme of work in Calcutta during the few days it spent in this city. It will visit it again this month and take up the unfinished portion of the programme.

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Professor Louis Renou

Professor Louis Renou is a distinguished orientalist of Paris. On the invitation of the University he delivered three lectures which attracted considerable interest.

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Late Sir Zahid Suhrawardy

We are grieved to learn of the death of Sir Zahid Suhrawardy. A distinguished alumnus of this University, he was for a few years associated with Post-Graduate Studies as a Lecturer in Arabic and Persian and rendered valuable service to the University in that capacity. Later he rose high in judicial service, becoming a Judge of the Small Causes Court and later a justice of the High Court at Calcutta.

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The Vice-Chancellor at Madras

The Vice-Chancellor, Professor P. N. Banerjee, attended the Quinquennial Conference of Indian Universities and meetings of the Inter-University Board at Madras in Christmas week.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

INDIA AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

India was the theme of a public lecture at Columbia University, New York on the seventeenth November. This was in connection with the Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture delivered by Prof. R. L. Schuyler. He is an authority on modern constitutions and world politics. The lecture which was entitled "India, the U. S. and the British Commonwealth" is the first of a series inaugurated at Columbia University by the Taraknath Das Foundation of New York City. The object of this Foundation is to promote Indian studies and foster cultural relations between India and the U.S.A.

Notification No. S/2382/Affl.

It is notified for general information that, under Section 22 read with Sub-Section (3) of Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act, (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Sanskrit College, Calcutta shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Economics to the B.A. (Pass) standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subject from 1950, and not earlier

Senate House: SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
The 23rd November, 1948. *Registrar (Offg.).*

Notfication No. C/2376/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act. (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49 the Bankura Sammilani College, Bankura shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and Biology to the I.Sc standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950, and not earlier.

Senate House: SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
The 23rd November, 1948. *Registrar (Offg.).*

Notification No. C/2428/Affl

It is notified for general information that, under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49 the Darjeeling Government College, Darjeeling shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Nepali and Bengali (Vernacular) Sanskrit, Pali, History, Civics, Logic and Mathematics to the I.A. Standard and in English, Nepali and Bengali (Vernacular), Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics and Biology, to the I.Sc. Standard with permission to present candidates for the examinations in the subjects from 1950, and not earlier.

Senate House: SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
The 19th November, 1948. *Registrar (Offg.).*

Notification No. C/2379/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that, under Section 22 read with Sub-Section (3), Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), Governer is pleased to order that, with effect from the commecement of the session 1948-49 the Bhabani Balika Vidyalaya, Howrah, shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in Mathematics and Commercial Geography to the I.A. Standard, with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950, and not earlier.

Senate House: SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
The 23rd November, 1948. *Registrar (Offg.).*

Notification No. C/2385/Affl.

It is hereby notified for general information that, under Section 22 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII oi 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect irom the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Raiganj College, (West Dinajpur) shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Sanskrit, History, Logic, Civics, Mathematics, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-Keeping to the I.A. Standard with permission to present candidates for tbe examination in the subjects from 1950, and not earlier.

Senate House: SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
The 23rd November, 1948. *Registrar (Offg.).*

Memo No. C/2968/Affl.

It is notified for general information that, under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904) the Governor is plaesed to order that with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49 the Santipur College (Nadia) shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Mathemetics, History, Sanskrit, Civics, Logic, Commercial Geography, Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-Keeping to the I.A. Standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950, and not earlier.

Senate House: SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
The 23rd November, 1948. *Registrar (Offg.).*

The Minutes of the Syndicate, dated the 26th November, 1948.

"159. Read reports from Professor Sir. Robert Robinson, F.R.S., N.L., Professor Str. Norman Haworth, F.R S., N.L. and Professor Louis F. Fieser on their adjudication of the thesis entitled (A) Synthetic Investigations in the Cyclopentanoperhydrophenanthrene Group. (B), Synthetic Investigations in the Sesquiterpene Series submitted by Mr. Pratulchandra Mukerjee, M.Sc., in support of his candidature for admission to the D.Sc. degree.

Mr. Mookerjee passed the M.Sc. Examination in Class I.

Resolved—That the reports be adopted and the candidate be admitted to the degree of Doctor of Science and that the name of the candidate together with the title of his thesis be notified in the Calcutta Review."

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

The Minutes of the Syndicate, dated the 17th December, 1948.

"195. Read a joint report from Rao Bahadur Capt. M. G. Kini, M.B., M.C., F.R.C.S., F.N.I., &c., Mr. S. N. Mathur, M.S., F.R.C.S., and Capt. D. C. Chakravarti, M.B., F.R.C S., who conducted the written, oral and practical examinations of the undermentioned candidate for the degree of Muster of Surgery.

Anilkumar Ray ... Infective Arthrites and Their Treatment.

Resolved—That the report be adopted and that Mr. Anilkumar Ray be admitted to the M.S. degree and his name together with the title of his thesis be notified in the Calcutta Review."

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

APPENDIX—I

ADDRESS*

THE HON'BLE DR. BIDHANCHANDRA ROY, B.A., M.D., D.Sc., M.R.C.P. (LOND.), F.R.C.S. (ENG.), F.S.M.F. (BENGAL)

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

In the unavoidable absence of the Vice-Chancellor of this University who has been deputed by the Government of India to attend a meeting of the UNESCO it devolves upon me the duty—and it is a matter of great pleasure to me—of presenting His Excellency Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia to you Sir, our Chancellor, for bestowing on him the Honorary Degree which His Excellency has very kindly agreed to accept.

Before I present our august guest to you, Sir, I hope I will be allowed to say a few words about him. His Excellency is popularly known as *Rajaji* or even as *C. R.* As a matter of fact, while I was attending a *viva voci* examination of candidates for the Indian Civil Service, one of my co-examiners asked a boy a question—'Do you know who is *C. R.* in Indian politics?' The boy first of all looked confused, then looked surprised and eventually the knowledge seemed to have dawned upon him and he replied with great enthusiasm that *C. R.* was no other than our august guest of to-day. It was in 1943, *i.e.*, at a time when Rajaji was more or less outside current politics.

One of his admirers who has written a biography of his, has said that he had no idea that one day Rajaji would become the Premier of his own province, the Governor of another or later he would be the first Indian to act as Governor-General presiding

* Delivered at the Special Convocation held on 30th November, 1948, for conferring the Degree of Doctor of Law *Honoris Causa* on H. E. Sri C. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India.

at the Government House, New Delhi.' Many people love to think Rajaji as a man of ascetic type, a preacher of non-violence, a close follower of Gandhiji, believing in the success of a political cause through prayer and passive resistance. Many of you do not know that Rajaji at one time played tennis, and fairly well too, and even in his old days, only the other day at Baroda, he actually fired a gun and hit the bull's eye. This author whom I have quoted is bold enough to say that 'the drama of life which Rajaji has been playing is not a show in one act but a grand *cabaret* performance almost changing in colour from hour to hour.' This probably has led people to consider him to be a man of 'mystery' in many respects. He has, I am sure, baffled the estimates of many of his admirers and certainly non-plussed many of his opponents by his words or deeds at different periods of his life.

Born of a Vaishnabhite Brahmin land-owner who himself was an erudite scholar in Sanskrit, he has naturally imbibed the family tradition in scholarship. But he was not merely an erudite scholar living as a recluse and following the bent of his hobbies, but from his early days he took part in various forms of activities—social, political and economic. Thus it was that when he was Chairman of Salem Municipality he broke tradition by appointing pariahs to operate the public water-pipes in the street inhabited by high-born caste Hindus for which he received rebuffs and opposition from many quarters. As President of the Municipality of his native town of Salem and as a first citizen of the town he did a large amount of good work.

He then threw himself whole-heartedly, into a world full of politics. He joined the agitation for self-government launched by Mahatma Gandhi and gave up a lucrative practice in the Bar and went to prison, suffered indignities and disabilities. Because of his honest convictions in politics, he used to retire to a village retreat amidst corn fields and poormen's hamlets whenever the current was against

him, spent the time spinning and preaching prohibition schemes with the ideals of a Pussyfoot Johnson. In prison he promptly got together his fellow prisoners and taught them various subjects,—astronomy, religion, politics, botany and national finance. Whatever position he occupied and wherever he was, he never forgot that it was the common men who make the country and they deserved every consideration at the hands of those who are more fortunately placed. In politics Rajaji is a class all by himself. Although he is a typical son of the mystic East, he strangely enough knows the intricate ways of Western diplomacy. His subtle and calculated intellect and great pursuasive powers, his iron will, often won a battle in the long run. To these attributes he has a fund of patience which has stood in good stead in his political life. In spite of provocation which would make an ordinary person get into temper and lose self-control, he would wait and bide his time, have patience with his adversaries until time softened the acerbity of the opponent and he who came to scoff remained to pray. In politics he is a tactician of a very high order but he has had no ambition either to amass fortune or to usurp power for its own sake because he is too humble for all that. Fame he has got, fortune he earned in his early life, but the political power which he has obtained, the influence he possesses with the Congress High Command, he has always utilised for the purpose of benefiting the poorer people and the common men.

If anyone among the public leaders who has been misunderstood most in India, it has been Rajaji; because in all his actions he has worked as a true Karmayogin, doing his duty to the best of his ability, placing his convictions before convenience, never wanting any return for the work that he does, and to-day though he is the master of the whole of India he is yet a servant of the people.

He is a man of conviction and has been courageous enough to stick to his convictions

even when his friends and co-workers had disagreed with him and refused to co-operate with him. In his long public life he has faced many difficult situations. He has even faced opposition and the ridicule of the crowd, but he has never wavered. If he found that he had made a mistake he would admit it and retrace his steps.

He has a keen analytical mind. During many discussions that we have had in the Congress Working Committee meetings I often wondered how he, a lawyer, came to possess such an analytical mind. Not that I discount the possession by lawyers of a logical way of thinking, but his approach to a subject was more clearcut and definite, more penetrating than we see in an average public man to-day. He scientifically analyses the beginning and end of a subject that he approaches and I know now that this is because he had Physics as a favourite subject of study when he was a student of the college. That gave him the habit of approaching a subject scientifically.

He has been a strict disciplinarian all his life. He has obeyed his master Gandhiji even when he has disagreed with him. He has obeyed the Congress even when its directions were contrary to his ideas.

He is a modest man. He approaches a subject in all humility. He talks about it in a very homely fashion and by utilising his sense of humour he disarms criticisms.

He has now occupied many important places in public life. I am perfectly sure that he would occupy any place, any position that is given to him with credit, determination, patience and success. Simple yet dignified, modest yet distinctive, he carries the grandeur of any office he is called upon to occupy with a grace and charm—all his own. " Grace was in all his steps, heaven in his eyes, In every gesture, dignity and love."

May Rajaji live long to serve his people from his present exalted position!

APPENDIX—II

CHANCELLOR'S ADDRESS

His Excellency the Chancellor then Addressed the Convocation as follows—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

This is a memorable day in the history of the University of Calcutta when in a free and independent India it honours, Your Excellency, in your person the Head of the great Indian Dominion, the first Indian Governor-General. The University however honours you not only because of your august office but also because of the high position that you hold in the realm of scholarship and of your great record of life-long selfless public service in this vast country. Yours has been a dedicated life. In South India as an exponent with unrivalled knowledge of the great Tamil language, you are a recognized authority ; and as for your legal acumen and forensic ability I can only say that had you given to law the energy and the devotion with which you have served the masses of India, you would have been counted as one of the greatest lawyers that India has produced. That was fortunately not to be. What has been a great loss to the great legal profession has been the gain of the country at large. As a younger man who has had the privilege of your friendship and guidance for decades, it would be almost impertinent for me to dwell upon your distinguished career of public service, not only in the field of administration and politics but still more remarkable in the larger field of social reform and mass uplift. Your great endeavour in the campaign against drink and drugs in Madras has been an incentive to others elsewhere to embark upon the same

enterprise, and your persistent efforts for the eradication of untouchability have proved wonderfully successful. It will no doubt be a matter of personal joy to you that both these great principles will now be enshrined in the constitution of India.

The University of Calcutta has a record of learning and scholarship now dating back to nearly a century, of which it can be legitimately proud. It has sent out into the world great leaders of men, lawyers, administrators, mathematicians and scientists, and though its territorial jurisdiction may have now been—because of political developments—greatly curtailed, I am sure that the fame of this University as a great centre, from which radiates to all parts of India knowledge of arts and sciences, will continue to expand. In a free India when responsibilities of its people have so enormously increased the burden on the Universities to train and instruct the coming generations has also increased in proportion. I can only say that this University is well equipped to bear all those burdens, and the re-orientation of its activities initiated under the leadership of that great directive genius in the world of education, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, will now prove of the utmost value as time passes by.

Being a lawyer myself, may I venture to say, in conclusion, that it is appropriate that the degree of a Doctor of Law should have been chosen for you. We symbolise the majesty of law even in our great National Flag. There, the great Chakra, the wheel of the law, stands forth for all the world to see what the Indian civilization and culture stands for. We revere and worship the law not only in the domain of our material worldly affairs but also in the domain of spirit and of morals. The law of the land protects every citizen regardless of the accident of his birth or of fortune or the colour of his skin or the faith he professes. In that law we seek our refuge and to that law we look forward for our advancement. This Uni-

versity seeks to inculcate in its students the value of self-discipline and respect for the law of the land. I am sure it is in that spirit of veneration for that law that you, who were yourself the Chancellor of this University not many months ago, will value the degree that has been conferred upon you today. It is in the fitness of things that the Governor-General to whom all the citizens of India look up as the defender and the upholder of the law should himself be invested with the Degree of a Doctor of Law by a Premier University of India.

BANDĒ MATARAM—JAI HIND

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW

MARCH, 1949

WELCOME ADDRESS OF SECOND SESSION OF THE INDIAN COMMERCE CONFERENCE*

PROF. P. N. BANERJEE,

Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Chairman of the Reception Committee

FRIENDS,

It is my proud privilege to extend to you all a most cordial welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee and also on behalf of the University of Calcutta.

The city of Calcutta appreciates the great honour of being able to hold in her bosom the Second Session of the Indian Commerce Conference. Calcutta still considers herself the commercial capital of India. From our city washed by the sacred waters of the Ganges, radiate the commercial and industrial activities of India. We meet here today in the most critical period in the chequered story of our ancient country, with problems of political, social, industrial and economic life staring us in the face. Sometimes our hearts sink when we try to have a review of the complexities of the problems before us. The solutions

* Welcome Address of Second Session of the Indian Commerce Conference held on 23rd to 25th December, 1948 at Senate Hall, Calcutta University.

appear to be almost baffling. I am sure, you, who have assembled here in this hall this morning, will give proper directives to the country.

A free India implies the revision of our commercial policy. Hitherto British imperialism sat tight on our commercial policy. We were necessarily guided by the policy of the United Kingdom. We have now to evolve a serious commercial policy which will establish good relationship with our neighbours and will solve the difficulties in the way of the development of our country. You, who are associated with the commercial life of our country, you, who combine experience and wisdom, will have to formulate a policy which will be responsible for the administration of a modern complex state.

India's export position is not inconsiderable. The war-years put restrictions upon our trade and commerce. Normalcy seems to be returning and with the return of normalcy the average citizen is looking forward to the restoration of normal trade channels, both within and without our borders. Our trade position has been on the march. Yet in these days of keen competition, knowledge and wisdom must pursue and shall follow not the natural forces for development of trade but a wisely planned policy. The Government of India have indeed appointed Trade Commissioners and Consuls in different parts of the World. Europe naturally has attracted from us greater notice than other parts of the world. Europe happens to be one of our best markets. But we must not forget however, that Europe is not the world and we must pay special attention to the development of our trade and commercial relations with our neighbours, north, east, south-east and west. Our relationship with these countries during two centuries of British rule was strictly circumscribed. We carried on and still carry on trade and commerce with them. But our methods require thorough overhauling in a scientific age. During my recent visit to the Middle East I experienced great cordiality amongst our Western neighbours. They have not forgotten the bonds of union between them and

India which subsisted centuries before the emergence of Europe in modern times. They await with hope and faith the leadership of India. Nepal and Tibet in the north, Burma in the east, Siam, Indo-China, Indonesia and Philippine Islands in the south-east of Asia—are all looking forward to increased trade and commercial facilities with free India. Our great friend in the north China to-day, rent asunder by strife, is sure to be on her feet soon. We must vitalise our efforts towards maintaining and developing our contact with that great and ancient country.

Many vast and complex problems await your consideration and deliberation, today. The currency problem of India requires your immediate attention. That currency must be made strong and stable. The present position of India as a member of the Sterling Block, will have to be reviewed in the near future. The Rupee claims today the homage of the people of the Middle East. Allied to the problem of currency the great problem before you is the problem of inflation. I shall not waste your time by recapitulating the measures devised, proposed and propounded by experts in fighting this tendency towards inflation. My experience of new expression like ' dis-inflation ' and ' deflation ' has not yet been able to solve the problem of inflation in India. A man in the street like myself is yet confounded by the rising spiral of prices. It is for you to lead the country as to how the price-level may be lowered and by doing that you will earn the undying gratitude of millions of our countrymen.

The problem of Insurance is a great problem in India. It is bound to engage your attention. Insurance companies throughout the world do indeed provide cover against risk. They also act as great instruments in promoting trade and industry. On them depend commercial activities. In a free India the insurance companies have a very big role to play and I shall earnestly request you to deal with the problem to the best of your ability.

In a world convulsed with fear, misery and poverty we often come across the expression ' Nationalisation

of Industries.' I am confident you have at any rate actually realised the implication of 'Nationalisation.' In the present state of the development of India, is it your view that all our industries should be nationalised or nationalisation should be limited to key industries? If your view is that key industries should be nationalised how would you select them ? Would you nationalise key industries immediately or would you do so by stages? Nationalisation implies monopoly. Would you encourage even state monopoly at this stage? Recent experience of the Coal industry of Great Britain and the possibility of nationalisation of the Steel industry in that country have lessons for us to learn.

Shall I tire you out if, as the custodian of the University of Calcutta, I mention to you what we have been able to do with regard to the development of studies in Commercial subjects? We established the B.Com. Degree Course in 1921. In 1923 only 26 students took the degree. In 1948 the total number of candidates who appeared at the B.Com. Examination was 1,666. The same year 111 students took the Master's degree. Commercial Education in this province has expanded. We shall feel grateful if you give your attention to the problem of stabilisation and development of commercial education in this University. I am free to confess that we have not yet succeeded in making our graduates captains of industries.

I appealed in the past and I appeal to Trade and Commerce in Calcutta again through you, to give us more sympathetic and active co-operation in regard to our courses of study. I am afraid the Commerce Departments of our Colleges have not yet been able to develop greater contact with the Business World. Through the munificence of Indian Jute Mills Association we have been able to establish the Institute of Jute Technology in Calcutta. We have been trying also to stabilise the Social Work Course for giving training to Labour Welfare Officers. We have just instituted the World Economic Institute of the Calcutta University for the purpose of establishing a link between this University and the leading men of the World of Trade

and Commerce. Something has been attempted, something done by us. We propose to do great things and I am confident that with your sympathy and support we shall succeed.

I wish your deliberations splendid success. I offer you today the humble hospitality of the University of Calcutta and the city of Calcutta.

BANDE MATARAM

INAUGURAL ADDRESS*

DR. NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

MR. VICE-CHANCELLOR, MR. PRESIDENT, AND FRIENDS,

It is a great honour for me to be invited by the Reception Committee of the Second Session of the Indian Commerce Conference to deliver the Inaugural Address. I am profoundly moved by the fact that it is under the auspices of my *Alma Mater*, the Calcutta University, that I have had this privilege of speaking.

I am happy to find a large number of businessmen on the Reception Committee, and happier still to see many familiar faces of the commercial world in this Hall. The co-operation of some European, American, Chinese, and Iranian firms and individuals with the intellectuals of the Calcutta University, as manifest in the organization of this function, is also a very encouraging feature.

Conferences of this kind have a great utility. Not only do they afford an opportunity to scholars all over India to meet and exchange notes but also provide a common platform, where theorists and practical businessmen can come together and re-shape their ideas in the light of the knowledge and experience brought together in the discussions. Professors of commercial and economic subjects have need to associate themselves closely with men actively engaged in trade and industry in order that their science may be rendered concrete, practical, and up-to-date, while businessmen can derive great benefit from contacts with the academic world. They can become familiar with the new trends of thought that tend to affect their enterprises, and with the kind of equipment such as young entrants are capable of bringing into the business atmosphere.

I shall now turn to one or two of the subjects which this distinguished gathering has assembled to discuss.

I find that Nationalisation is one of these subjects. I have no doubt that the discussions will throw considerable light on this problem which is agitating very much the commercial world today. You will appreciate that those of us who are connected with trade, commerce and industry do not naturally feel very happy over the trend of

* Inaugural Address delivered by Dr. Narendra Nath Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., at the second session of Indian Commerce Conference on the 23rd Decembsr, 1948, at the Senate Hall, Calcutta University.

thought on this and other matters. I do recognise that, situated as we are at the present moment, we have to accept Nationalisation as the ultimate goal of Governmental policy in respect of certain basic industrial and commercial activities such as Rail, Transport, generation of Electricity, and Ordnance Factories. Certain sections of public opinion, however, are pressing for the inclusion in the programme of Nationalisation even such industries as Coal, Iron and Steel, etc., while there are others who would even go further and advocate Nationalisation of all forms of industrial activities.

Our opposition to the extension of the policy of Nationalisation, beyond the three items mentioned by me, is not based merely on selfish grounds. As Professors of Commerce, you must also have followed the development of trade and industries in other countries, and I believe you will all agree that experience has so far shown that State enterprises are subject to many handicaps, the most important of which are those relating to the long delay and procedural formality in all matters, such as the selection of personnel, purchase of raw materials, machineries, and such other essential matters necessary for the working of business concerns. In private enterprises, the proprietor or the managing director can exercise his powers as he thinks best without having to wait for the sanction of one or more higher officials or other departments. A State enterprise may have ample finance at its command, but the sanction for expenses is subject to so many departmental checks that ultimately they become detrimental to efficiency. Moreover, the State enterprises are not subject to the same degree of scrutiny on the part of public as those under private owners and the administration and management of State concerns are always much costlier than in the case of private enterprises. The management of a State enterprise may be left to a very able man, but he can never exercise his full discretion which he could have done in a private organisation.

Our Prime Minister had sometime ago pointed out that in the new India we are trying to build up, there are many enterprises which require active State participation, and we cannot afford to dissipate our undoubtedly limited resources in nationalising our existing industries and trades. The resources of the country could much more fruitfully be utilised if the State were to concentrate all or the major portion of its time and energy to the development of as yet untapped potentialities of the country, leaving private enterprises in charge of those branches of economic and commercial activity in which it is now engaged. A certain degree of control and regulation will of

course be necessary in order that private enterprise may not adversely affect the larger national interest. To this, those engaged in trade and industry do not have any objection. It is not my desire to anticipate your final conclusions on this question, but I do hope that, in considering this matter, you will bestow your most careful attention on all the aspects of the problem.

Closely connected with the problem of Nationalisation is the Government's economic policy as to whether private enterprise is to be encouraged in certain spheres. This should be clearly demarcated and the Government should give active support in the shape of a suitable programme for transport facilities, tariff assistance and scientific taxation and labour policy. The misgivings which had previously prevailed in the country on these accounts have been considerably removed. In effect, the policy enunciated by them has more or less justified the stand taken by the commercial community against large scale Nationalisation, for which certain parties had been insistent for some time.

It was expected that the formulation of the economic policy by the Government of India should serve as a stimulus to industrial and commercial activity in the country. Unfortunately, capital still tends to be scared away from ventures, and Companies newly floated have to suffer inanition, because subscriptions fail to pour in. The campaign against reasonably high dividends, profits and private enterprise, which has been carried on for quite a long time, does not definitely serve as a commercial tonic. Though Government must require funds to carry out their programmes, there is a limit to the strain of high taxation which business can stand. All these have acted as a damper to progress in the economic sphere, while there are other contributory factors of which the most important is the dislocation caused by the division of a country which had through the efforts of many years been integrated into one economic unit. Cotton Mills in India have been considerably divorced from their raw material the medium staple cotton, which is to be found in larger proportion in Pakistan. The separation likewise of the Jute Mills from raw Jute is equally an anti-prosperity factor.

Production has also been hampered on account of the inability of industries to secure Capital Goods from abroad. India is not to command more than £ 40 million of her sterling assets per year for the current and next two years. Her purchases of tool, implements, machineries, etc., in foreign countries are limited, not merely by this

amount but also by the terrible shortage in Dollar and other Hard Currencies.

All these factors have a bearing on the problem of Inflation, which, I hope, some of you will touch, when discussing the Currency problem. In fact, if I am permitted to say so, the need for a successful anti-inflationary policy is much more important than the question of Nationalisation. It is not generally realised that one of the main factors which have brought about the present inflationary trend in the Indian economy is the inability of agricultural and industrial productian to catch up with the local demand for goods. The most effective method by which the problem can be solved is by stepping up production all round. As a temporary measure, the Government have indeed liberalised their import policy, and it is hoped that the larger volume of imported goods will help in lowering down the general price level.

I need not, however, stress that there is the danger of overdoing this policy of liberalisation, and I hope you will all realise that a too liberal policy of imports may, by throttling the indigenous industries, have the effect of killing the hen that lays the golden eggs. What we require is a substantial increase in the available supply of goods, and the Government ought to be very careful in striking a balance between the import of goods and the production of indigenous goods within the country.

While there is room for honest difference of opinions as to whether the Government are following a correct policy in this respect, I must say that the general industrial policy enunciated by them has been on the whole well-conceived. It is my sincere hope that the measures recently adopted will set in motion forces for an increase in production. Without such an increase, the result will be retrenchment, unemployment, under-employment. The situation would be more unfavourable to industrial relations and to the quantum of production. Inflation is thus militating against increase in output.

At present, there is practically no attempt to equip the more intelligent among the industrial workers with sane ideas of accounting, costing, or the general principles of business success. They should be dissuaded from thinking that the annihilation of their employment centres is tantamount to the expansion of their own standard of living. An atmosphere of mutual understanding between employees and employers is extremely desirable and more intensive and persistent efforts are necessary to bring about the wished for results.

Indians like every other people will have to apply their own brains and brawns to the utilisation of their agricultural, forest, and mineral resources. Co-operation with foreign talent and finance should be attracted whenever necessary, but the foundation of our material progress has to be sought in our own labour, both manual and intellectual. We cannot afford to depend perpetually on foreign machines, tools, implements, and prime movers but must build up our own engineering industries in an adequate manner. We must have our scientific researches, as well as discoverers and technical inventors such as can help our trades and industries with new designs and appliances. Our engineers, foremen, and supervisors will have to harness themselves to hard and concentrated work in the establishments. And last, but not least, among manual workers, both skilled and unskilled, devotion to duty ought to come in to remove desultory habits and irregular practices. India needs today a religion of steady and strenuous work on all fronts and in all sectors. Genuine *Karma-yoga* (activism) imbued with patriotism and the spirit of service to the country so necessary in the modern age of Coal, Steel, Oil, and Aeroplanes, of Chemical Engineering, Basic Chemicals and Fertilizers, is the pre-condition for our survival as a nation and for our material and moral well-being.

I have a special word of advice to those of my young friends who are present here this morning. They ought to realise that they are the potential leaders of to-morrow, and much depends on how they train themselves during the formative period of their life.

In conclusion, I fervently wish success to this Conference and sincerely hope that your deliberations will help in the clarification of many important issues now before the country.

JAI HIND

PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH*

PROFESSOR M. K. GHOSH

DR. LAW, THE VICE-CHANCELLOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

This is the Second Conference of the Indian Commerce Association as the Association was formed early in the year 1947 and the First Conference took place in Lucknow in December, 1947, under the auspices of the Lucknow University. The Association is very grateful to the authorities of the University of Calcutta for extending their hospitality by inviting the Association to hold its second session in the great and historic city of Calcutta. Both on behalf of the members of the Association and myself, I offer most sincere thanks to the authorities of the University for their kind co-operation in our Conference to enable us to make it a success.

Members of the Association, I am specially grateful to you for the honour you have conferred upon me by electing me your President for this session of the Conference. I realise that this position entails great responsibility and it will be my endeavour to discharge it to the best of my ability.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our country is passing through a period of crisis which is but natural as new and complex problems have arisen with the attainment of freedom on the 15th August, 1947. The National Government, which took over the reins of power on that day, have had to tackle problems of an unprecedented nature since then and it must be said to the credit of our Leaders that they have neither faltered nor failed in their work but have risen to the occasion, and several very difficult problems have been either solved or are in the process of solution, though it must be admitted that many others are still awaiting solution.

The attainment of freedom was possible only after the partition of the country, and this led to widespread disturbances in the different parts of the country resulting in the transference of population from one part to another in such large numbers that the resources of the Government were taxed to the utmost limit. But be it said to the credit of the Government that they successfully tackled this

* Speech delivered by Prof. M. K. Ghosh, M.A., B.Com. (Lond.), Dean of the Faculty of Commerce, University of Allahabad at the Second Session of Indian Commerce Conference on December 23, 1948.

huge problem in an efficient manner, and they are also attempting to tackle the huge problem of the resettlement of refugees who were uprooted from their homes and thrown into new and unknown surroundings. Another important problem, *viz.*, the problem of the Indian States, has to a great extent, been successfully tackled, due mainly to the fact, wisdom and strength of will of our great leader, the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhabhai Patel ; and let us hope that the one remaining aspect of this great problem, *viz.*, Kashmir, will also soon be successfully solved.

Though we can congratulate ourselves on that we have made a good beginning, yet it is clear that many other problems which are facing us to-day, or which are likely to arise in the near future, will tax our energy, patience and wisdom to the utmost.

Increased Production

The most important problem before our country today is that of increasing production in every sector. Restricted production has been an important cause of a large number of our economic ills. It lies at the root of the tremendous poverty of our masses, our dependence on foreign countries even for articles which are vital to our existence and the serious inflation that envelopes us today. Indeed, our newly won freedom makes increased production even more urgent than before not only because the status of independence saddles us with certain responsibilities, resulting in increased national expenditure—*e.g.*, on ambassadorial and consular services abroad, on defence, on delegations sent to international bodies, and on training people to take up the tasks which were formerly accomplished by foreign personnel—but also because freedom is meaningless, unless we as a nation also get freedom from want. While, therefore, it is imperative to have increased production, it is a matter of grave concern that our production has been actually declining. The inevitable consequence has been that a larger slice of the "national heap" of goods and services has been in the recent past claimed by the State for expenditure on national, as against individual, purposes, and much less than before has been left with our people for being spent on their individual and family wants. This has resulted in a drop in the general standard of living ; and no wonder that men in the Universities and outside are alike unhappily pondering whether that is the meaning of freedom and whether it is for this that they had made sacrifices all along. Indeed, our National Government have too long disregarded our real

economic problems, and have depended too much upon the printing press of the Reserve Bank of India. Every effort must begin to be made, and the earlier the better, to attack this central problem. I am grieved to note that though our Governments in New Delhi, the Provinces and the States are not oblivious of this necessity, it has not resulted in any practical action that may be said to have been effective. I should like to observe that unless our production as a whole is increased, our economic problems will continue to multiply, and increase in seriousness and gravity, and their solution will ever evade us ; it is only on the increase of our production that the main remedy of our economic and commercial ills seems to rest.

Industrial Policy of the Government

A search into the causes of restricted output, therefore, becomes a matter of fundamental importance ; and I should like to crave your indulgence, Ladies and Gentlemen, in drawing your attention to a matter that has attracted very wide attention in the recent months, namely, the industrial policy of our Government. I can only regard it as unfortunate that for a long time Government did not declare its industrial policy in clear and definite terms, and left our industrialists in doubt and suspense. In the meanwhile, our political leaders, whose views were most important, made personal and often contradictory statements which resulted in the loss of confidence on the part of private entrepreneurs. The threat of immediate nationalization could not be ruled out in such an atmosphere. This was associated with the Liaquat Ali Budget repercussions which claimed 15 as. 6 pies out of every rupee earned beyond a certain limit ; and also with the increasing cost of labour, and the industrial unrest caused, at least, partly, so the industrialists felt, by too liberal encouragement given to labour in this regard. I am not, for a moment, entering into the ethics or economic justification of the steeply graded taxation policy, or of nationalization, or of strikes and wage-increments ; but I am stating the psychological condition of the mind of our industrial producers resulting out of the facts mentioned above. Such a psychology is altogether unsuited to increased production ; and it was only natural that production should decline. It is commonsense that no entrepreneur will like to invest his capital in an undertaking when he is uncertain about his labour cost, forming as it does an important part of the total cost ; when he is afraid of strikes and attitude of labour ; when he will have to pay enormously

high rate of taxation which will make serious inroads on his profits ; and when, after all that he has done in establishing a concern, he runs the risk of the concern being suddenly nationalized. However, after quite a length of time, the Government of India declared their industrial policy. That declaration has also failed to inspire confidence among the private entrepreneurs, because the declaration of nationalization of certain industries after 10 years is a serious shortcoming of that policy. This leaves no incentive for the setting up of the new industries. At the present time, because of the pressure of circumstances like scarcity of capital goods, building materials and trained personnel, new industries and ventures will take four to five years before they can be set up and another five years or thereabouts to get on to their feet and to begin yielding a decent profit. But when these new ventures will reach a stage when dividends can be expected of them, the State may, according to the declared policy of the Government of India, nationalize them. This is not very re-assuring to private enterprise ; and I shall not be surprised if this industrial policy, which runs counter to human psychology and objective industrial conditions, does not evoke any confidence and any fresh industrial ventures worth the name. And if this is the correct reading of the situation, what is the purpose and reason of continuing and enforcing an industrial policy which cuts the very thing it seeks to encourage? What is the justification of a programme which will restrict our output and result in an even more depressed living standard? I must take this opportunity to appeal to the Government, in all seriousness and gravity, kindly to reconsider if they should not revise their industrial policy to suit our existing conditions to a greater extent. Reason rather than sentiment should enter into their consideration in deciding this issue. It is no use feeling or even saying that capital is on strike. Capitalists have been called even worse names in human history. We can use all those and even dirtier names and satisfy ourselves, if that gives us any satisfaction! But by abusing capitalists, you cannot increase production. The whole question is: Do you want private enterprise to function or not? Without expressing any opinion on the merits of this issue, I wish to impress, if I may, that the policy of the Government of India will have to be materially altered if this is wanted. If you want private enterprise to keep alive, you will have to give them *reasonable* conditions and stimulus. If you want national enterprises to be immediately set up, you should not expect your production to increase from privately owned ventures ; for such an

expectation will be psychologically wrong. Declining to provide reasonable conditions for private enterprise to function and then condemning private enterprise, may be good politics, but it is wrong economics.

NATIONALIZATION

But should the Government immediately launch upon a programme of nationalization? I doubt very much if that can succeed, at the present moment. I am not opposed to nationalization as an economic policy in theory or in practice. But I do believe that every economic policy is subject to a law of relativity and no policy can be thought of as existing in vacuo. Considering the existing conditions in our country when we are still learning the art of self-administration and have to burden heavy military responsibilities, when increased production is our basic problem and even the best conceivable distribution of our annual national dividend cannot improve our general living standard in any appreciable way, when trained personnel is our greatest scarcity and private enterprise is almost its sole repository, when private enterpreneurs are willing and anxious to co-operate with our Government in all reasonable ways, we will be committing economic suicide on a national scale if we spurn their hand of friendship and eject them from the field of active function, directly or indirectly. Let us not multiply our national problems by first abolishing whatever we have and then trying to build anew what we consider to be a scheme of things near to our heart's desire. We yet have much to do. Let us start with our existing economy and fill in the production gaps in various economy-sectors in the way we consider best, without seriously disturbing the existence and functioning of the present production set-up, though we may subject it to such regulation and control as we consider necessary for our nation.

In accordance with this standpoint, I should like to suggest that the Government should for the time being leave the existing factories in the hands of private enterpreneurs and give them reasonable facilities and privileges to set up more factories, and increase production to the very best of their abilities. But let not the Government keep quiet and depend entirely upon private enterprise for this purpose. They should also simultaneously try to put up their own factories and help in increasing production. In particular, they should try to develop the key industries along nation-

alized channels. Industries of this nature ought to be State enterprises ; and as a rule this policy should be followed by our Government with all the vigour, drive and vision that they can command. If such factories are at present under private management and ownership, I for one will like them to be left in pivate hands, subject to all the necessary control and supervision of the State. Similarly, the State may also set up factories for producing civilian good, chiefly concentrating on the lines where private enterprise has not yet appeared. This policy will result in stepping up our production, which the present sterile industrial policy will not. This will serve another important purpose as well. In our country, the inefficiency of Government enterprises is too well known to need any comment. There is considerable need for improving efficiency and let them work, so far as consumers are concerned, not as bureaucratic Government Departments but as commercial undertakings, with due deference to the sovereignty of consumers. Unless they can achieve such efficiency and such an outlook, it will be dangerous to give them monopolistic rights. Nationalization is not an unmixed good ; and we are happily in a stuation when we can put it into practice only after eliminating from it at least the more important of its evils. This opportuity we should not miss. By setting up State enterprises competing with private enterprises, on the one hand, we will help the former to achieve a certain degree of efficiency, at least in the beginning, and also ensure that production is carried on at the minimum real cost to the country ; and on the other hand, the State industries will act as a check on the private enterprises against earning inordinate profits.

Limitation of Profit

While I am against nationalization of those enterprises which are at present in private hands, I do believe that proper control and regulation thereof is necessary to make them function in the true interests of the nation. The days of *laissez faire* are long past ; and it is better that they are not resurrected from their eternal slumber. Of all such measures, I am all in favour of the control of profits. Our Government should take steps to study the profits made by various enterprises in the past, and the profits which are likely to be made in the new enterprises that may be started. They should fix a maximum rate of dividend for each industry which should vary according to the degree of risk involved in the industry concerned.

If profits exceed this maximum, the surplus should be divided equally among capital, labour and the State. This triple surplus distribution plan should commend itself to all the interests concerned. To the capitalists, it will mean an incentive to increased production and efficiency and to earn higher profits; to labour, it will be a source of inspiration to sustained work—less absenteeism and days lost through strikes, etc.; to the State, it will mean a larger absolute share from every increase in production. The recent decision of the Government of India in regard to the limitation of dividend does not, I am afraid, accord with the principles enunciated above.

Development of Power Resources

While on the subject of increased production, I will like to emphasise the greatest need for an early development of our vast "white coal" resources. Hydel development has been recognised all the world over, and in our country also, as the cheapest source of power to industry. We are lucky as a nation to have abundant hydel resources; and they can now be turned to good account. Abundance of hydel power will certainly help in the large-scale industrialisation of the country; but it appears that for some time to come, there will be many difficulties before us in setting up large-scale factories due to the scarcity of capital goods, building materials and trained personnel. It has come to be realised that for some time to come at least, we should try to increase our industrial output by setting up and encouraging medium scale and cottage industrial units. Such units, if worked by hand, cannot produce goods in large quantities, nor can they produce them cheap. But if cheap power is made available to such units, goods can be produced in larger quantities and at reasonably low costs. This development will also lead, in course of time, to industrial decentralization which for economic, defence and social reasons has become a national desideratum. Moreover, the conception of power-cum-irrigation projects, made real prominently by TVA, has now become the accepted practical norm in this direction; and hydel projects also become a source of considerable quantities of water which can be used for irrigation purposes and turn even deserts into smiling fields by increasing the total agr cultural produce. It is a matter of great satisfaction that our Government have boldly proceeded to give to this idea a realistic shape in our country and several important projects are already in hand or are under contemplation. We look forward to the future with confidence

and hope that in near future our power resources will be developed, and that they will be made available to our countryside so that they could be converted into small industrial townlets having greater prosperity and greater amenities of life, the source of strength to the Union of India in every sense.

Development of Agriculture

At one time India was a very important agricultural country and we used to export agricultural produce to other countries. But now in spite of the fact that a major portion of our population still depends upon agriculture, we have to import many agricultural commodities from abroad. This is, to a very great extent, an index of our agricultural backwardness. In fact, our agricultural backwardness is a well-established and well-understood fact, and for a long time past, much concern has been shown for the welfare of the cultivator. Steps have also been taken to improve agriculture. Congress Ministers, whenever they came into power during the period of the British Rule in India, did take definite steps in this direction; but they were not commensurate with the needs of the situation. Steps recently taken by our Government have also been bereft of any substantial results. This fact is not without its morals. It is all right to say that such steps as have been taken were either not the correct steps or that their administration was left to persons who did not competently discharge their duties. But, to my mind, they are also indicative of the peculiarity of the problem which does not let such efforts bear fruits. Agriculture is in the hands of small and illiterate cultivators, who are devoid of broad outlook and knowledge of modern scientific methods, whose capital is very meagre and is mostly derived from loans taken from money-lenders, and whose economic condition does not warrant them to market their produce at the best prices or to produce the best they can and in the largest quantities they can. The condition of agriculture is so bad that I personally will declare it as hopeless and in need of desperate and drastic remedies. Unless we change the very basis and structure of agriculture, the improvement, of which this occupation is capable of will not be made. From this point of view, I am all in favour of establishing large mechanised farms. The chief economic argument against such a step is the unemployment of rural labour that may result from this course. But I, for one, do not visualise this danger. In my opinion, increased agricultural production resulting from the adoption of large-scale

mechanised farming will raise the standard of living of the masses, which in its turn will result in increased demand for goods and services by them, thereby giving a filip to new industries and creating a much larger volume of employment to which the rural labour, rendered unemployed by mechanisation, could easily be drafted. In this or some such manner, the problem can be suitably solved. But unless this solution is made practicable, I am sure in my mind agriculture will not respond to human efforts to wring larger output from the soil. What degree and nature of mechanisation will suit the state of our soil is for the scientists to say ; it will be useless to be dogmatic in this respect as unfortunately seems to be the tendency among at least some of our economists.

The need of stepping up agricultural output is so urgent and great that I may be permitted to say a few words on the subject. Only sometime back many Indian economists were fond of suggesting that we should develop our industries rather than our agriculture as if the interests of the two pursuits were opposed to each other, and the development of one meant or implied the neglect of the other. But this view, untenable on its own merits, is also out-of-date in these days of economic planning which implies simultaneous development of total economic resources in all the economy-sectors. However, it is a matter of gratification that this is not the view of those who control the destiny of the nation.

Increased production of agricultural commodities is important not only because every addition in the national dividend must contribute to economic welfare of the nation, but also because for strategic reasons as well we will like to be independent of foreign countries, in so far as it is possible, in regard to agricultural produce, especially when we are predominantly an agricultural country—though this predominance has now somewhat altered against agriculture with the partition of India—and can very well translate the idea of agricultural self-sufficiency into practice. Indeed, our agricultural output is low today and this is really due to the inefficiency with which agricultural pursuit is carried on. Inefficiency, in every sphere and field, must be rooted out. It is also recognised that increased agricultural output will bring greater prosperity to the countryside and will prove an antidote to inflation. It is also important to remember that in the case of a backward country like ours, we can realise a greater measure of economic advancement by first fully developing and exploiting primary industries. The growth of primary industries is itself associated with simultaneous development of secondary and tertiary

production though the rate of the former far exceeds the latter in the beginning; but after agricultural development has reached the saturation point, the working population dependent on secondary and tertiary production begins to increase and income levels begin to rise higher. It is not without significance that Denmark and New Zealand, having a high standard of living, are both agricultural countries.

While enough has been said about the need of agricultural development and also of mechanisation, I must emphasise once again the urgent need of giving serious thought to the problem of so changing the basis and form of our agricultural organisation that human knowledge and capital both begin to be invested in it in suitable quantities, so that our agricultural resources are developed fully and in the best manner. The present organization has altogether failed in this regard and is quite unsuited to the task before it. I will suggest that the Government should appoint an expert Agricultural Commission, which may submit its report within a space of about 3 months—at least an interim report pointing out the directions in which work is needed—to tackle this all-important problem.

There are some persons who favour collective farming, in place of present-day independent, individual farming. There are difficulties in this. Collective farming requires compulsion and though compulsion can be made to have legal authority behind it, even law cannot permanently override human psychology. From this point of view, co-operative farming, which does not involve an element of compulsion, seems to be superior. But co-operative farming is not likely to lead to substantial results in this country, which is our ambition and which is within our capacity. I would, therefore, like the Government to give its serious thoughts to the question whether collective mechanised farming, involving *compulsion* no doubt, could not be adopted in this country to attain our goal as quickly as possible.

As regards the idea of self-sufficiency in agriculture, I will like to emphasise the need of increasing the output specially of raw jute, raw cotton and foodstuffs. India was before partition the monopoly producer of raw jute. But a major portion of that distinction now belongs to Pakistan as a result of the partition of our Motherland. Our deficiency in raw jute has caused a loss of balance in our own produce and the requirements of our jute factories, which has resulted in serious economic and commercial maladjustments. Moreover, jute is an essential commoditiy for our trade, and ways and means must be found out to develop its cultivation in the India of today. Our dependence on other countries in regard to foodstuffs has already

caused serious famines and privations, and we will not like these to be repeated in any case. Cotton textile industry being our most important national industry, we will very much like that this is also freed from the risk of dependence on foreign supplies, especially when we can with suitable efforts realise this objective.

Foreign Capital

Ladies and Gentlemen, every scheme of stepping up production will require capital. We are among the poor countries of the world, and hence will we be able to find the needed capital from our internal sources? This question has received the attention of long-range and short-range planners of this country. Some people believe that in the existing conditions of deficiency of capital goods, building materials and trained personnel, we will be able to find all the capital we need from our own resources provided these resources are suitably tapped. But even they do not altogether rule out the need of foreign capital. The Eight Industrialists, in the course of the Bombay Plan, estimated the need of foreign capital to the tune of Rs. 700 crores (7% of the aggregate finances involved) assuming that Rs. 1,000 crores will be available to us in exchange of our sterling balances. However, I do not wish to enter into a discussion of the quantity of foreign capital we will require; but I do believe that we will not be able to do without foreign capital in the economic development of our nation. Indeed, our need for industrial knowledge is so acute that we will have to import it even in association with foreign capital, *e.g*, on the basis of partnership. It is true that foreign capital, important during the British Period in this country, kept the interests of the country of its origin before the interests of India. This capital also exercised a political control and acted as a deterrent to the growth of Indian enterprise, Indian capital and trained personnel. It is true that it developed the industrial resources of the country in the initial stages, which are risky; but the disadvantages under which the country has laboured all along under the weight of foreign capital have been too great a price for this. It is impossible for us to have foreign capital on such terms. We can promise it reasonable return and adequate security; but we cannot let it decide our industrial policy, much less our general economic or political policy. We can give it even a share in the management and profit, but not a dominating share. And this also we may do *only* in the initial stages.

While welcoming foreign capital under these conditions in the beginning, we should also try to mobilise our own internal resources as best as we can, even at the cost of a reduction in our standard of living for some time to come. This sort of sacrifice we may call upon our people to make in the interests of the nation. The Government must try to create and accumulate capital by all methods it can employ. In particular, it must not fight shy of borrowing at a higher rate of interest inside the country, which is very necessary to encourage investments. This step was also taken by the U. S. S. R. when she could not get capital from foreign countries. The U. S. S. R. gave 7% to 9% interest on Government loans at different stages to encourage private savings and investments. In these days, economic development without tears is an impossibility. But of course our case is not so hopeless as was that of U. S. S. R. in the initial stages. We have a much higher foreign credit and goodwill of nations than U. S. S. R. had. We need not, therefore, be afraid that we will have to subject ourselves to such serious privations as was the fate of U. S. S. R.

The Population Problem

The problem of foreign capital is associated with the problem of technical knowledge. We are in very great need of trained personnel and we have to make serious efforts to develop it. The Government have already begun sending batches of Indian students abroad for receiving training of technical nature; but the scheme has several drawbacks. To send students coming fresh from Universities to receive technical training has its own sphere of advantage, but they cannot be depended upon to take up the work of organising industries immediately on their return. Moreover, many of the State scholars have been sent to acquire only book knowledge. It would have been better if the Government had sent those who are actually working in factories, in responsible positions, to go abroad to receive practical training. The money spent on such persons will be a very good investment. In so far as the Government policy on the subject has deviated from the norm, the money spent on foreign scholars cannot be said to have been put to the best purpose from immediate standpoint. The Government must revise their policy in this regard. Moreover, such a policy is very costly. Instead, the Government should try, wherever possible and advisable, to invite foreign experts, to this country and let them train our young men for technical work.

The cost of such training will be much less, and numerical strength and speed will both be additional advantages.

However, quality of population apart, quantity of population has become an economic problem with us. It is a common complaint that we have too many mouths to feed, that we are over-populated ! and this is taken to be a cause of our existing poverty and low standard of living. Now, it must be taken to be an accepted norm of demography that the regulation of population should have the maximisation of income *per capita* as its objective, unless this has to be altered on non-economic considerations like reasons of defence and strategy. But before us in India, the problem is very much complicated by the gulf—and a very wide gulf at that—between our potential resources and our exploited resources. As a result of the policy of the arrested development pursued during the British Rule, our exploited resources are so scanty that to maximise *per capita* income relative thereto, we will have not only to totally stop our population growth for some time to come but also to lop off a substantial margin of existing population, both of which seem to be remote from practical politics. Moreover, it does not seem to be quite a satisfactory position to ignore totally our potential resources when the gulf mentioned above is so wide and when our nation is now determined to narrow down this difference as early as possible. How far and how soon can we develop our unexploited resources and what measure of population can be supported keeping up the demographic norm of maximum *per capita* income, are matters of imaginative realm and no precise or mathematical judgment thereon can be pronounced off-hand. But this much can certainly be said that population planning, under the existing conditions in our country, seems to have a point so long as long-range planning goes. But in short period, to exercise any definite control on numbers on the basis of present exploited resources is something which does not seem to be the right thing to do. Of course, there is much necessity of trying, to limit our numbers as far as we can ; for if our total output remains constant or decreasing as is happening at present or increases very slightly, the rapid rate at which population is increasing is bound to result in even more depressed living standards than at present. It is, therefore, necessary for the State and the public to do whatever they can to limit population to present dimensions, though it will be difficult for the State to commit itself to any definite policy of population control for the time being.

Labour

Closely associated with population is the problem of labour, mainly industrial. Perhaps in the post-freedom period, the labour problem has emerged only next in importance to the political problem confronting our nation, unless it has in recent months been partly overshadowed by the problem of inflation. There can be no two opinions on the fundamental principle that labour should get its due reward. India is still entering into the stage of factory industrialism ; and we have at least this advantage of the late start that we are very much alive to our responsibilities to labour. Indeed, many improvements in the lot of labour have come not under an urge from ranks of labour but from others. Today we can feel proud of a body of labour laws which have considerably improved the lot of our workers. Since our achieving freedom, considerable improvements have been made in this regard, which is a matter of satisfaction. But recently the labour problem has emerged, not so much a matter of labour laws, as a matter of strikes which threaten to paralyse the very basis of our production. Strikes have wage increments as their chief objective. Now this increase in wages can come either from the increase in the national dividend, or in the shape of a larger fraction of the constant or even decreasing national dividend. The latter cannot be a matter of satisfaction to anybody, not even to labour ; for ultimately this must give rise to economic repercussions which may act prejudicially on the quantum of the national dividend. The danger is especially great in a poor country like India where the national income is a very limited quantity. If the increase in wages comes about in the shape of an increasing share of a decreasing national dividend, it must inevitably mean a rise in the living standards of labour at the cost of living standards of other sections. This has indeed been happening in this country recently. Now this increase in wages has caused a spurt in price level which has inflicted the greatest injury on the middle class people. The first duty of labour anxious of getting higher wages is to put their heart in their jobs and give out their best to increase production, on which hangs the fate of the country as a whole. When by their efforts and the efforts of others co-operating with them, the national dividend has increased, they have every right to demand higher wages. Indeed, the class of persons who today control the destiny of the nation are themselves an assurance that labour will surely get its fair share of the national income, and indeed more than a

square deal. Why then force the hands of the leaders who have always committed themselves to the betterment of labourers' conditions in hot haste? Why this lack of co-operation on the part of Labour with the popular leaders who now form our Government? Indeed, there is a good deal of truth in the fear that there is the hand of some political group in this matter. Be that as it may, labour should never forget two things. Firstly, any increase in their wages must as a rule come from an increase in the national dividend, and not from the existing national income which is actually shrinking, partly on account of their own attitude. Secondly, they who claim certain national privileges also have some national responsibilities, and by ignoring the latter and concentrating on the former, they are sure to lose public sympathy. These are the days when the popular sentiment is sympathetic towards labour, and it may not be diplomatic to state things frankly if they are bitter. But I will be failing in my duty if I hesitate to tell what I consider to be absolutely in the national interests. There is need of strong and stringent action against all sorts of labour trouble; and the industrial truce must not be allowed to become a dead letter. I may repeat once again that reason, and not sentiment, should be our guide. I wish the Government were to give serious attention to this aspect of the matter and deal firmly with a situation which is fraught with grave dangers. Lest I am misunderstood, I may frankly state that I am all in favour of the improvement in the living standards of labour: and the earlier we can do it, the better. But I must consider it something serious if our Government are coerced to do so, at twenty-four hours' notice to the utter disregard of national needs, conditions and requirements. They must be given time to put their house in order and deal with first things first. This suggestion of mine is not pro-capitalist. I have already suggested that there should be a limitation on profits, and any surplus over and above the maximum thus fixed, should be equally divided among the State, the labour and the capitalists. If, therefore, there is any benefit to the industry arising out of a certain level of wages, it will be equally shared by all these three interests automatically. It is high time that we should seriously think of linking the wages to the amount produced if this production crisis has to be seriously tackled.

Among the measures that the Government have recently taken to improve the lot of labourers, I consider none so important and permanently useful as the Employees' State Insurance Act, which

is the beginning of the social security programme in our country. It is a measure which will be of immense benefit to the working classes inasmuch as it is a very considerable improvement over the Workmen's Compensation Act and the Maternity Benefit Acts passed by certain provinces. It will also mark the beginning of health insurance to our workers, which benefit was hitherto not available to them to any extent worth the name. This triple-measure will be, let us hope, a beginning in the direction of social security. It is also gratifying to note that the Government have begun with only three risks in the beginning; and as the national dividend increases, the scope of social security can be extended gradually. In the meanwhile, the Employees' State Insurance Corporation will constitute a nucleus on which other branches of social security can be grafted as and when they are introduced. I must take this opportunity of putting on record my appreciation of the thoroughness and foresightedness with which the Government have moved in the matter and the ability with which the whole scheme was prepared and later given the present shape.

Transport Bottlenecks

Besides the above mentioned factors, transport bottlenecks have shared, to a very great extent, the responsibility for arrested production at the present moment. In many cases, goods have been produced by factories in considerable quantities, as in the case of sugar, but they could not be moved from factories on account of non-availability of railway booking. The consequence was that there was a veritable famine of sugar in certain markets in midst of general plenty. Indeed, sugar factories have had to close themselves down partly or wholly because the manufactured goods created a glut; and this led to restricted purchase of sugarcane leading to economic hardship on growers. Similar is the sorry tale about coal and several other industries. Seeing that increased production is the vital point on which the whole of our economic future depends, and that this production is kept in check because transport is not able to cope with the industrial demand, nothing should be more important to the Government than urgent and speedy steps to increase the capacity and speed of transport, especially railway tansport. The latter should be reinforced by systematic and properly-working means of transport of other categories. It is true that the transport system falling to the lot of our Government is war-worn and has been in urgent need

of replacements and renewals for some time past. It is also true that it is not easy to secure rolling stock and other equipment from abroad as quickly as we desire. But within these limitations every effort should be made to improve the working of railway transport. Better distribution of rolling stock, quick loading and unloading, greater efficiency of railway staff, alternative channels for transporting certain commodities, *e.g.*, laying down pipes to carry petroleum, greater efforts to secure engines and wagons from abroad—these and all such efforts, if seriously made, are bound to bear fruits. It is one thing to bemoan the difficulties in the way of improvement. It is quite another to manfully grapple them and overcome them. Statesmanship lies not in the former but in the latter. It is easy to say that the Government are doing the best that they can. But the public judge a Ministry by the results it produces, not by the statements it issues. It is today an open secret that Transport Ministry—along with Communication Ministry—have failed to inspire confidence in the public. Indeed, circumstances having made transport a matter of life and death to us, the self-complacency of the Transport Ministry of the Government of India cannot but be deplored in strong terms. I will go to the length of saying that even more important than the acquisition of fresh capital goods, is the need of improving our transport system.

Sterling Balances

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have taken too much of your time dealing with certain leading problems in the production sector because of the great importance that must at the present juncture be attached thereto. The second place, in order of importance, may be given to certain currency problems. Of these the issue of Sterling Balances is a prominent one. We have entered into an agreement with His Majesty's Government regarding these balances; and I am glad that the question of reducing the Sterling Balances did not arise. As the terms of these loans stand, they are quite favourable to Britain, so favourable indeed that the cost of these loans has all along been borne practically by our country. Had the British Government been honest in their dealings, they would have floated loans in India at proper rates of interest which might have been 4½% or more. But instead of it, they shifted the burden on the Indian tax-prayer by issuing sterling I. O. U.'s and forcing the Reserve Bank to issue currency to effect war purchases. In this manner, they aggravated

inflation and the privations of people considerably increased. However, they have been paying only ½% rate of interest on sterling balances, instead of 4½% or more which they would have been required to pay had they floated loans in the Indian money market. They have thus been saving 4% or, more on the sterling balances for the last 5 or 6 years. This saving to the British Government, and loss to us, will amount to about Rs. 30 crores per annum on the average and the total has already amounted to about Rs. 200 crores or more and this will continue till the entire sterling balances are paid back to us. It is, therefore, clear that there is already a considerable reduction in the Sterling Balances which would have increased considerably more if a proper rate of interest was given by Britain on them. This much of concession forcibly taken from us may, indeed, be regarded as a reduction of these balances.

Inflation

The accumulation of our sterling balances must, to a very great extent, be held responsible for the inflationary conditions which prevail in the country. It is too well known for me to state that Indian Government had to obtain funds from the Reserve Bank of India during the war period to meet the war purchases of Britain in India, and these funds were given by the Reserve Bank by printing currency notes against the sterling I. O. U.'s issued by his Majesty's Government. Every addition to Sterling Balances was thus associated with a further rise in inflation. Indeed, the cost at which we have accumulated our sterling balances has proved too heavy for us; and we are still suffering from it.

However, there are several other causes also for the existing inflationary conditions. I will not proceed to assign the degree of importance that should be attached to restricted output in the list of causes, but I take it that there will be general agreement that increased production would have served as an antidote of additional currency put into circulation. The celebrated Quantity Theory of Money, though discarded by modern monetary economists, has at least this modicum of truth that amount of currency and amount of goods and services and prices are inter-linked; and, other things remaining the same, the greater the quantum of exchangeable articles, the less will be the price-level. Unfortunately, as things stand, our production has not only not increased, but it has actually declined. This antidote, which would have been very effective had it been actively working, has not been available to us.

Besides this, the Government of the country have been saddled with huge expenditure to meet defence expenses on the Kashmir front, military action of a police nature against Hyderabad, on ambassadorial services, on delegations sent to International Conferences, and so forth. The total amount of these expenses, if calculated, will surely amount to a huge figure. At the same time, it is a matter of regret that the very high salaries, which our Government dignitaries are getting are probably not less than what their compeers were getting during the British Rule. The Congress Party was at one time most critical, and so were the economists, of one of the poorest countries in the world having the costliest dignitaries! One would have expected that the same Party when in power will remove what it has itself been criticising till the other day. But instead of this we only find princely salaries, now being defended on the ground of the dignity of the State. I, for one, am not convinced of the dignity of State in paying a higher salary to our Governor-General than the salary of the President of the United States when our income *per capita* is hardly 8% of the U. S. A.'s *per capita* income and when our tax-payers and people are groaning under the deadweight of high taxation and soaring prices!

I believe the Government of India have been so busy with other weighty problems, political and otherwise, that they have not yet had the time to revise what they inherited from their predecessors. In fact, the statesmen today enjoying the high offices of Governor-General, Governors and Ambassadors are mostly patriots who have suffered much for the benefit of the nation. Their patriotism is not a thing which has now to be bought by paying them princely salaries. I am sure, they will welcome this idea and vindicate their true patriotism by accepting the minimum salary that they really need. In other directions also economy should be practised. As regards our civil expenditure, there is room for considerable economy; and such avenues should be seriously explored. In fact, if the present level of Government expenditure continues, every time a cure is effected of inflation, it will only prove temporary; and the mounting Government expenditure will again and again reduce us to the same inflationary position. A strict vigil on Government expenditure and effecting economy wherever possible is an urgent need of the hour. The economy in civil expenditure is all the more necessary as the New India of today and tomorrow will have to spend more and more on defence services, not in an haphazard and wasteful way but in a scientific and careful manner; but all the

same, one can visualise a considerably increased expenditure on this score if the country is to maintain her independence in these days of turmoil and trouble in a distracted world. The inflation in this country has indeed been caused by a multiplicity of causes like decreased production, transport bottleneck, speculation, hoarding and profiteering and expansion of currency due to the accumulation of sterling balances in the first instance, and subsequently due to budgetary deficits of the Central and Provincial Governments on account of their failure to balance their budgets and their attempt to bridge the gap by recourse to loans from the Reserve Bank of India which could meet the same only by further issue of currency.

Increase in production, as I have already said above, is important on its own merits; and every effort must be made to accomplish it. Attempts should be made to secure capital goods in adequate quantities from other countries, so that new factories can be set up. In the meantime, cottage and medium-scale industries should be established all over the country for meeting our immediate needs. Serious efforts should be made to eliminate transport bottlenecks. Three shifts system should also be introduced in cotton textile factories. These and other similar measures must be taken to increase production, not only for checking inflation but also for its own sake. As for speculation, hoarding and profiteering, I wonder why the Government are not taking adequate measures to deal with them. If heavy punishments such as long-term rigorous imprisonment and confiscation of all the ill-gotten gains are meted out, the evil can perhaps be reduced, if not altogether eradicated. But firm action alone can produce results.

Cheap Money Policy

A very important matter connected with inflation is the cheap money policy which the Government have been pursuing for some time past and which is causing the circulation of large monetary surpluses. The cheap money policy has, to a large extent, been responsible for the failure of the Government's loan programmes; and it is responsible for discouraging savings. Cheap money policy has already proved seriously injurious to financial institutions, especially insurance companies who are in the vortex of financial calamity. May I urge, with all the emphasis at my command, the immediate abandonment of cheap money policy? Bank rates and money markets rates should be pitched up to a higher level. This will encourage savings and investments and will mop up surplus

purchasing power. To the extent that this happens, inflation will be reduced, Here I may be permitted to recall that as far back as July, 1943, I put forward a plea for the abandonment of cheap money policy and immediate raising of the rate of interest in order to pursue an effective borrowing policy to mop up the surplus purchasing power circulating in the country. When this matter was discussed at that time at a meeting of the Consultative Committee of Economists, when Sir Jeremy Raisman, the then Finance Member, was temporarily in the chair, I pleaded with him for an early reconsideration of the cheap money policy of the Government. But it was then my lonely voice crying in the wilderness. I am, however, glad to find that at present, at this distance of time, many practical men who are realists have also come to the same view. Had my advice been heeded then, much trouble that we are now facing would have been avoided. In that case, a good part of currency that has been floating about at the present moment could have been long ago withdrawn and the Government instead of getting the printing Press of the Reserve Bank in motion, could have utilised borrowed money for their purposes.

Here I wish to make it clear that a scheme of compulsory savings, which has been advocated in certain quarters, is fraught with considerable difficulties inasmuch as it will not only be difficult to enforce the same but also will lead to further corruption among officials who are charged with the duty of enforcing it, besides creating great hardships in the case of salaried and fixed income earning persons who have been hardest hit by the present rising prices. It will thus create more problems than it will solve. Why not then give a real chance to voluntary savings by affording a proper economic incentive towards this end? So far voluntary savings has not been given a proper chance by offering an economic rate of interest to the potential savers of the community. I would certainly deprecate the adoption of all sorts of novel methods before trying the orthodox economic methods that have proved successful in the past. Of course if voluntary methods fail even after increasing the rate of interest, the scheme of compulsory savings may then be considered.

I would also strongly deprecate the suggestions made in certain quarters for increasing further the burden on industry and personal incomes by additional taxation as anti-inflationary measures. Such recommendations in my opinion are more or less academic, far removed from the realities of the situation. There is little doubt that such remedies, if adopted, will tend to paralyse the industry and

damp whatever little incentive there is for production, and will accentuate the problem of inflation in the present context. I would, therefore, like to oppose all such proposals and to suggest that the Government should adopt such methods which are not only well tried but which are also realistic, in their approach to the present situation in the country.

The recent announcement of the measures to be taken by the Government of India for combating inflation, though welcome in many respects for the moderation and wisdom shown in their conception, is lacking very much in one important aspect, *viz.*, that it does not say anything regarding the interest rate to be allowed in future and no announcement has been made regarding the abandonment of the cheap money policy which has been the cause of many of our presentday economic ills. To this extent, the measures will fall far short of those required to meet the situation and will not be able to improve it to any considerable exent. It is, however, hoped that the Government will realise in the near future that what is really needed today is an effective policy which will quickly mop up the existing surplus currency circulating in the country.

Exchange Difficulties

It is at the same time very important that the present difficulties of dollar exchange and other hard currencies should somehow be got over, if we wish production to increase within a short space of time both by the importation of capital goods as well as of trained personnel. I will suggest that we should take a loan from International Monetary Fund or from the Government of the United States of America, so that we could meet these most urgent demands which our economy is making. We should not have certain vague fears that such a loan will land us into further difficulties, for provided they are hedged in with suitable safeguards, these loans will be utilised in productive channels, which will in course of time increase production and exports. We will be able to pay off these loans within a reasonable period. The Government may distribute the loan thus taken among private industrialists—if it desires to encourage private enterprise—or use it itself.

At the same time, we should try to encourage and expand our invisible services. The development of foreign trade, banking, export of insurance services and shipping services, etc., will, in its very nature, involve some time element. But we can surely take immediate steps to encourage tourist traffic in India, and we can expect

immediate results. Special efforts should be made to make tours to India popular in U. S. A., and these efforts should be associated with the development of suitable facilities, in regard to transport, hotels, recreation grounds, literature regarding historical and other places of interest to a tourist, and other things which might make the tour to India a pleasure to remember. This will considerably ease our dollar difficulties.

Inland and Foreign Trade

If our exchange difficulties are even partly solved, the nature of our foreign trade, and later of inland trade, is bound to undergo a change for the better. Foreign trade may rightly be regarded as the best index of the nature and condition of a country's economy. So far as foreign trade itself is concerned, we should try to relax the import control with soft currency countries as far as possible. The Government of India are to be congratulated that they have made a beginning in this direction; and they should avail of further opportunities of similar nature. Ultimately perhaps such control will have to be imposed with a view to achieve the industrialisation of the country of the order which is our ambition. But for the time being, relaxation of import control seems to be the need of the hour. On the export side, we should try to keep within our own borders such raw materials and basic minerals which we ourselves need. The export of others may, of course, be encouraged. We should also use quota, subsidy and protection, with discretion and after proper thought, to ensure the economic and commercial growth of the country.

I may also make a plea at this stage for developing our inland trade. In every country, the inland trade is several times more important than her foreign trade. But our country, due to peculiar historical conditions, has been paying more attention to our exports and imports, and our inland trade has too long been disregarded. But in the world of today which is dominated by selfishness, war or threats of war, autarkic trends and individualism, we will do well to develop our inland trade and make it a source of strength and stability to our economy. This will require considerable improvements in marketing organizations, in transport systems, in weights and measures, in storage facilities, banking and insurance, and so forth, which have been long overdue.

Economic Policy of the Government

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have taken a good deal of your time in discussing the problems of production, currency and trade; and

now may I draw your attention to the economic policy of the Government in Free India? It has become a commonplace these days to criticise the Government rather bitterly and vehemently for their failure in managing our economy well and properly. We must not, however, forget that our Government have been passing through very abnormal times which are unparalleled in the history of the world. If under such circumstances, they have not been able to give adequate thought to the economic problems, we should not lose patience with them. Our Government have been constituted by ourselves and they are alive to our criticism, our feelings and our demands. We are most welcome to make criticisms —that is one of the blessings of democracy—but let our criticisms be constructive and not bitter or malicious. Nor should anybody run away with the idea that whatever criticism is made of the Government policy, is indicative of the lack of co-operation or support. For it is unfortunately true that the Government have too long neglected our economic and commercial affairs, and the public now want some effective solution of at least the more important of them. I have already referred to some of these problems and I will now like to speak a few words only about the taxation policy pursued by our Government. Our Government have proceeded to introduce new taxes and to increase the rates of existing taxes with an eye to their own monetary requirements; and they have not paid adequate attention to the needs of production carried on by private enterprise. The taxation of industry has been very heavy and seems to be cutting at the very root of monetary incentive; many enterpreneurs, who were keen to set up factories, are reported to have given up their idea to undertake an enterprise which was bound to result in a loss to them. This rate of taxation and this attitude must be criticised in the strongest terms. To fleece private enterprise may be a good policy under certain circumstances, but the policy of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs is not one which will receive wide approbation. For so long as you depend upon private enterprise, for production and for your supplies, you must let it exist and produce. I take this opportunity of making a plea for reducing the level of taxation and give reasonable assurance that such levels will be more or less maintained. In order to encourage investment, a part of the profit which is ploughed back in the industry should be made exempt from taxation. Even in foreign countries like U.S.A., where the problem of increased production is not so acute as in ours and where the rates of taxation are not so high either, the problem of mortality

among infant firms caused by high rates of taxation in initial stages has been causing anxiety and efforts are being made to change the taxation policy in such a manner that new firms are let off lightly in the initial stages. It is gratifying to find that the State in India is now beginning to realise the necessity of the same about such things and has taken some measures in this direction recently but more will have to be done if real results are to be achieved. I will urge upon the Government to set up a Committee composed of all the interests in the country to consider and report on the whole policy of industrial and trade taxation, in association with the policy of rationalisation which the Government intend to pursue. While I am definitely in favour of lightening the present heavy burden of taxation on industry and on private income, I do recognise the need of the State for a larger income than ever before. It is, as such, of great importance that the evasion in payment of taxes, which is at present quite considerable, is effectively stopped. The Government will be fully justified in tightening the laws to check evasion of taxation and this, I am sure, will add Rs. 50 crores or more annually to the coffers of the State. I am sure the public will fully co-operate with the Government in this regard. The Government may also consider imposition of some other taxes, *e.g.*, Agricultural Income-Tax in provinces where it does not exist, Inheritance Tax and Taxes on luxury goods which may not bear hard on the masses.

Economic Intelligence Service

Indeed, the Government seem to be labouring under the handicap of having to do without the assistance of what might be called an Economic Intelligence Service. It is true that the days of the police State are gone and in addition to maintain law and order, the State has also to regulate and encourage economic development of the country in every sector. But this does not mean that any action taken by the Government without proper thought of the background of a case and its future consequences will, as if led by an "Invisible Hand," lead to social good. In particular, Ministers in every country have to depend upon trained and experienced officials who are experts in their lines and who are competent to tender sound advice. Ministers may come and go, Governments may be formed or reformed, but this neither lets a sudden break occur in the continuity of policies nor does it need experimenting with the economic system of the country. In our country, un-

fortunately such an army of trained officials is yet to be made ; and the earlier it is done, the better. In regard to economic and commercial matters, I welcome the proposal of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to set up a separate Ministry of Economic Affairs. But I will also like to make a plea for a separate Economic and Commercial Intelligence Service whose members should be at the service of all the Ministries, in New Delhi and the Provinces, to help in the formulation and enforcement of Government policies along the right lines. The members of such a service will be a sort of insurance to the country that her economic policies will not be tampered with or be determined by pressure of sentiments or prejudices, but will emerge after careful thought, and will be related to past and contemporary experience. This is a step which we can no longer postpone.

Need for Planning

The uncertain and vague policies being pursued by our Government must partly be attributed to the lack of any plan to guide their action. Our economy today has become such a complex affair that unless we have complete control on all its parts, we cannot realise the best results. Planning is today the accepted method of the economic development of a nation ; and I wish the Government of India proceed at an early date to apply this to our country as well. But the planning of a country's economy means a more or less strict regulation of human activities ; and this will be tolerated only if results are shown. An inefficiently administered plan is more of a liability than an asset. A plan must therefore be carefully drawn up ; and then put into execution with vigour, imagination and courage. There can be no planning without pitfalls ; but let the responsibility for these pitfalls be that of errors of human judgment, and not of inefficiency or carelessness of our planners. That should be our ideal ; and we must as a nation prepare ourselves to accomplish it.

This can best be done by the setting up of a Planning Commission which should be truly national and representative of all the interests composing our nation. It should be broad-based and should consist of all the interests like industrialists, traders, economists, engineers, bankers, insurance men and so forth. The Planning Commission will of course carry on the greater portion of its work through expert sub-committees formed by it.

Need for Statistics

For planning on any considerable scale, it is necessary that full statistics regarding all our resources, existing and potential, are available so as to serve as the basic data at the starting-point of the plan, and later to mark out the relation of realized targets to fixed targets. It is a commonplace of planning that when the automatically working forces of demand, supply and exchange are displaced by human judgment, statistics alone can indicate if a planned programme is running successfully or not. It is not my intention to examine at this place the specific deficiencies in our existing statistical data, but they are known to be extensive, and this gap must be filled in at the earliest opportunity. For let us not forget that planning without an efficient statistical organisation is gambling, and playing with economic life. I cannot imagine any greater danger than this to any economy.

Unfortunately, we in this country do not possess any well constituted and satisfactory organisation for the collection, analysis and interpretation of statistics. In many foreign countries there are Central Bureau of Statistics for this purpose. Such a Bureau must be set up at an early date in India also. It will be remembered in this connection that the Economic Enquiry Committee as early as 1925 recommended the establishment of a Central Statistical Bureau and the Bowley Robertson Report also recommended in 1934 the appointment of a permanent staff for the same purpose. I strongly urge upon the Government to set up an All-India Statistical Bureau with provincial units and local units. The local units must rope in the Statistical Departments of the various Universities, so that these Departments not only take part in the collection, compilation and presentation of local statistics, but also become training centres of statisticians whom we very greatly need. Now when the Government, Central and Provincial, are seriously endeavouring to give a new direction to University education and to encourage researches therein, their services should be enlisted, as much as possible, in the directly useful channels yielding immediate results of national welfare. If I am permitted to make a digression, I may mention that I very much deplore the want of efforts to provide a link between the Universities on the one hand and the Governments on the other. During the British Rule we of the Universities had to work in a vacuum. Our services were unwanted and we got information about existing economic, commercial and statistical conditions only after

and in so far as information was released by the Government. We were, then, criticised that we did not contribute anything to the practical economic policies of the country. The state of affairs must not now continue. If the Government take us into their confidence and let us help them to the best of our ability prior to the announcement and enforcement of Government policies, I can assure the Government on behalf of the Universities that they will not find us wanting in efforts and co-operation. But we do want at the same time proper facilities for studies and research. Instead of working in a vacuum, we want to work for the achievement of certain objects of direct practical use to the country and the Government.

I may also state that the method of appointing a Committee or Commission to decide what statistics should be collected and how, is one which does not suit the present case. That will delay matters and no Committee or Commission can have such a penetrating vision as to tell us what statistics we should collect now and in future. Statistics have an intimate link with the objective conditions of daily life; and as these change new statistics will be necessary to take them into account. The job of deciding what statistics should be collected and how, is a technical matter and this can best be tackled by a permanent and competent staff. If a Bureau is started forthwith, it can be safely entrusted with all our statistical affairs.

British Commonwealth of Nations

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have expressed myself at somewhat fatiguing length about matters economic and commercial. With your permission, I may make a brief excursion into fields not strictly ours but bordering our sphere of work and thought. Let me first pay my tribute to Great Britain for the large-heartedness and imagination she has shown by liquidating her Indian Empire and declaring us to be a Free Nation. This has increased the moral prestige of Britain, has to a considerable extent atoned for the moral and material exploitation of India during the British Regime, and has created an atmosphere of goodwill among us for the British people. Indeed, at no time was the feeling of friendship for Britain so strong as immediately after our freedom. We, on our part, will like to continue the friendship and co-operation with the British Nation and I must plead strongly for continuing to be a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. It is true that the recent attitude taken by Great Britain on the Kashmir issue was dictated more by selfish

political interests than by any feeling of friendship for our great nation; and such an attitude on the part of Britain has hardened the public opinion against her. But till now the situation has not been so hopeless as to let us break away from the British Commonwealth. Indeed, it is to our advantage also to be a member of the Commonwealth at the present stage. Later on, however, if we find that this Commonwealth link is working to our national prejudice, we will always be at liberty to break it off.

There is, however, one thing which should engage the serious attention of the Government of India, *viz.*, the need of establishing suitable agencies of propaganda and publicity, both outside as well as inside the country. Visitors to foreign countries have all deplored the manner in which the case of India is being distorted and misrepresented abroad by persons opposed to our interests; and this is a serious matter. There should be our own agencies in foreign countries to let the world know the truth, for India will always stand for Truth, Justice and Fairness. That, indeed, is our only contribution to this materialistic world. Then alone can the world have full advantage of the policy of moral politics and diplomacy which India has been pursuing at considerable cost to her people. Inside the country also, our publicity channels should be suitably developed and brought to a high pitch of efficiency so as to be able to concentrate the psychological support of the people to any course of action decided upon by our Government. Not only for political ends, but also for economic objectives, it will be a very useful thing. Now that we are about to enter upon a planned programme, and the nation needs the best out of its every member, we cannot do without such agencies.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you for giving me such a patient hearing; and, I am sure, your help and co-operation will make this session of the Conference a success.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN INDIAN INDUSTRIES *

J. K. Bose, M.A., B.L., Ph. D. (Lond.), F.R.A.I.

A well organised industry stands on the willing cooperation between the worker and the management. This relationship within the industry is known as industrial relations. If the industrial relation is not on a high level there will be constant conflict between the two groups. The net result will lead to the cessation of work or strike on the part of the worker or lockout on the part of the management. At the present moment India is passing through a crisis as the production is going down every day when the country needs more production. I do not like to discuss why it is going down and who are responsible for this. But it is certain that relationship between the management and the worker is not as it should be. Let us analyse the position of present-day industrial relationship.

In an industry the workers are employed for doing certain jobs for which they are entitled to get fair wages. The working hours and conditions of work are laid down in the factory legislation (to protect the interest of the worker) which the employer has to observe.

The most important question about the industrial relation is the settlement of fair wage and this is the bone of contention in most of the industrial disputes in the country at the present moment.

The report of the Central Pay Commission has tried to find out what the living wage of the employees in the public services should be. It has also tried at the same time to set an ideal for private employers to follow. The report was drawn up by a Committee of Experts from different Provinces. The members of the Committee are not unanimous in their decisions as to the minimum wages, but most of them agreed that at a cost of living index of 285 [1] a fair minimum wage should be Rs. 55/- (made up of basic salary of Rs. 30/- plus dearness allowance of Rs. 25/-).

The first difficulty of the Commission is the absence of reliable data on which to decide the cost of living and the model living wage. For this reason the calculations in most cases are largely hypothetical. In setting up a model standard it is desirable to think of an

* Read at the Indian Science Congress, 1947.

[1] Report of the Central Pay Commission, Delhi, 1947, f. 401

ideal standard of living for workers with the minimum wage, but in the present condition of the country the application of the minimum wage rule should involve consideration of the limitations imposed by the general economy of the country. It may be applied to correct inequalities in the distribution system but not in disregard of the total production capacity of the country or without reference to the national income.[2] Even in the Bombay plan it was pointed out that 'no system of distribution, however meticulously framed, will help to raise the standard of living unless production is increased.'[3] In the Bombay plan it was also suggested that in the initial stages, the minimum wage should be related to the normal wage level prevailing in the country, but it must be revised from time to time till it corresponds with a reasonable standard of living. Dr. R. Mukherji cites Sir John Orr to show that even in Great Britain there are marked deficiencies between current wages and the standards of the minimum wage and he recommends that in India a cautious beginning should be made in laying down minimum wage standards.

Considering these difficulties, a national minimum wages should be devised and implemented on the basis of prevailing wage rate in the various Provinces. There is also danger of declaring a living wage markedly different from current wage and this point has also been stressed by Sawkins[4] with reference to Australia. "The risk of disturbing the nominal purchasing power of the vast masses of the community whose living depends on wages is too formidable. The economic consequences of either large inflationist or large deflationist measures are too incalculable." Taking all these into account an approach to a national minimum wage should be made in India through several stages in the development of the wage policy in different Provinces on certain scientific principles.

The basic principle should be to lay down certain forms of food requirements and also other necessities which make up a decent standard of living for the workers.

The hypothetical calculations of the Pay Commission in the absence of reliable data have been criticised by various persons and most of the Provincial Governments even have not accepted their recommendations. The industrialists also do not agree to implement their recommendations of the minimum wage ignoring the current

[2] Report of the Central Pay Commission, Delhi. 1947, p. 30
[3] Report of the Central Pay Commission, p. 31.
[4] Sawkin's—The Living Wage in Australia. P. 48.

wage rate. The net result is there are constant disputes between workers and management in most of the important industries at the present moment. If this basic problem is not settled by scientific investigation or by mutual understanding there is very little hope of industrial peace in the next few months and a wave of strike or lock-out will be the natural consequence.'

In our country we have very little research work on this subject from the scientific point of view. For this reason, whenever any dispute arises as to the 'living index' or 'the minimum wage' or 'the poverty line' of workers in a particular industrial area, an immense difficulty arises in the way of any settlement and naturally it results in ill feeling between the worker and the management.

In view of these difficulties, there should be organisations set up by Government or other public bodies who would carry on with the survey of industrial community in different centres in India from the scientific point of view, and the researches of these organisations would help in building up better relationship in the industry.

My paper is mainly intended to present a vital problem of the industrial community in India to the social scientists of the country and I hope the Government, the Universities and other research organisations will come forward and take up this problem and present us with scientific data which may ultimately help in promoting better relationship in industry and more production for the country.

LIVES OF SĀRIPUTTA AND MOGGALLĀNA

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Some 2500 years ago, were born in Magadha two Great Saints Sāriputta and Moggallāna. By virtue of their merits, they secured the foremost position among the many disciples of the Buddha. Though a detailed account of their lives is not available, we can, however, have a general idea of their career from scattered sources preserved in Sanskrit and Pali. The tradition preserved in Sanskrit tells us that there was a certain Brahmin named *Tiṣya* well-versed in the *Lokāyata* philosophy in Southern India. Scholars from different parts of the country, especially from the Central part ('Middle Country'), flocked to him to learn the lore. Tiṣya, having learnt the glories of the 'Middle Country,' wished to visit it and on his way, he came to Rājagaha, the capital of Magadha. He paid a visit to the King there and solicited royal patronage. Tiṣya, in keeping with the practice of those days, expressed his desire to the King for holding a discussion with any learned Brahmin of his territory. Māṭhara of Nālada (Nālandā?) was at that time reputed to be the foremost of the Brahmin scholars and the King's choice naturally fell upon him. Accordingly, Tiṣya went to Māṭhara and entered into a discussion with him, ultimately defeating Māṭhara. The consequence was that Māṭhara had to lose the village of Nālada which had been granted by the king as his honorarium *Māṭhara* being highly dejected was about to leave the village, when *Tiṣya* himself offered the revenue of the village to Māṭhara and persuaded him to stay there. Māṭhara could not refuse the offer. Further, Māṭhara as a gesture of good will gave his daughter Śārikā in marriage to him.

Ladies of high culture and scholarship were not few in those days. They often entered into discussions with reputed scholars, nay defeating them sometimes. Śārikā, too, inherited some scholarly traits from her father. One day, while Tiṣya was holding a discussion with his pupils, Śārikā overheard it and felt a strong desire to take part in it, but she was overcome after a prolonged debate. In course of time Śārikā became pregnant. During her pregnancy, she often dreamt wonderful dreams, which were inter-

preted as being signs of the birth of a son of wonderful character to Śārikā. The prophecy, indeed, came true. Once again during her confinement, Śārikā entered into a discussion with her husband and this time the reverse was the case. Śarikā defeated her husband, her victory was mainly attributed to the child in her womb. In due course, Śārikā gave birth to a son possessing the characteristics of a great man. The son was named Upatiṣya after the name of his father and Śāriputra after that of his mother. The son excelled his father in all branches of learning.

In the village called Kāṣṭhavāṭa close to Rājagṛha lived a Brahmin named *Mudgala* who was said to be the minister of a king. He married a lady of his own rank but they had no issue for a very long time. Both of them, desirous to have a son, offered prayers to all sorts of gods and at last their prayer became fulfilled—a son having a perfect body was born to them. The son was delicately nurtured; several nurses waited upon the child constantly, He was known as *kolita*, as he was mostly reared up in the laps. He was also called Mudgala-putra, son of Mudgala and from the family of his birth he came to be known as *Maudgalyāyana*. The son surpassed his father in all arts and sciences. He was entrusted with the instruction of 500 young Brahmins in Brahminic lore.

Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana became renowned teachers, in course of time, teaching several thousand pupils. Both of them came to know of each other by name and fame only but had not been face to face till then. It was but natural that both of them would be desirous to see each other. Maudgalyāyana was the son of a very rich man while Śāriputra's family was poor and so their parents did not allow them to see each other. At Rājagṛha was celebrated every year a ceremony where thousands congregated on the occasion for enjoyment and business. On one such occasion, Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana went there. While witnessing a mime, they sat near to each other and picked up mutual acquaintance which subsequently developed into an affection for each other. Eager to acquire knowledge they decided to enter into a religious order. Maudgalyāyana entreated his parents to allow him to do so but his parents would not grant his prayer. His friends and relatives also tried to dissuade him from this resolve. Finding no other alternative, Maudgalyāyana refused to take his meal until he was so permitted. At last, he received his parents' permission to join Order. He then went to Nālada to his friend Śāriputra who had already obtained his parents'

permission to take to religious orders. Shortly after, they proceeded towards Rājagṛha where at that time six celebrated teachers—Purāṇa Kassapa, Mokkhali Gosāla, Ajitakesa Kambali, Pakudha-Kaccāyana, Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta and Niganṭha Nāṭaputta—were staying. They had been to each of these teachers successively and asked them, saying, "Master! what is the method of your doctrine? What advice do you give to your pupil? What is the fruit of an honest life? What are the benefits thereof?" Not satisfied with the replies given by each of the teachers, they left them in despair.

In course of their peregrination they met Sañjaya who had a number of followers. They became followers of Sañjaya who later on entrusted them with the instruction of his other followers. When Sañjaya fell ill, these two youths attended on him day and night but the teacher died. Before his death, Sañjaya advised Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana to become the disciples of the Buddha if they wished to attain to the highest state of perfection. They performed the funeral rites of their master according the Shastric injunctions. They became convinced that their deceased teacher had found the 'food of Immortality' which, to their regret, was not imparted to them. Following their Teacher's advice they paid a visit to Buddha and became his disciples to find out the 'food of Immortality'. Buddha declared them to be the foremost of his disciples. Śāriputra was "the chief of the ingenious or intelligent," and Maudgalyāyana, "the chief of those that make miracles or prodigies or illusory spectacles."

According to the Pāli, Sāriputta was born in the village called Upatissa, close to Rājagaha. His father was a Brahmin named *Vaṅganta* and his mother was Rupasārī. He was called Sāriputta after his mother. He was also known as Upatissa because he was the son of the principal family of the village. The Apadāna, dealing with the lives of the Buddhist Saints, gives his name as *Sārisaṁbhava*. The name Upatissa is, however, occasionally found in texts. Moggallāna was born of a Brahmin lady named Moggali who lived in a village called Kolita, not far from Rājagaha, and because of his mother's name he was known as Moggallāna. He was also called Kolita as he was the son of the chief family at Kolita. Both Sāriputta and Moggallāna were born on the same day and were older than the Buddha. There had been a close tie of friendship between their families for several generations and it was because of this that the two children became friends from childhood. Both of them excelled in all branches of learning in their early age. On a festive

occasion at Rājagaha, the friends went together to see a mime-play which they enjoyed very much at first but subsequently they were suddenly struck with melancholy, thinking "there is no lust in satisfaction in looking upon this folk; this is all unprofitable, it behaves rather to seek the way of Release." Realising thus the impermanence of things, they decided to retire from the world together. Shortly after they renounced the world and attached themselves to Sañjaya. From the very day they became his disciples, Sañjaya reached the acme of gain and fame. One day both of them together went to the teacher and enquired of him saying "Teacher, is this all the religious truth you know, or is there something more besides?" The teacher replied, "This is all there is; you know all." They were not satisfied with the reply and left him to seek for another teacher who might point out the "Way of Release." They wandered far and wide in search of 'Truth' and wherever they heard there was a recluse or brahmin, they approached him and asked him whether he knew it. But before they parted in their quest, they made an agreement among themselves that whoever should first find out the 'Deathless' should impart it to the other.

While they were living under this pact, Sāriputta met the Great Elder Assaji, one of the first disciples of the Buddha, begging alms at Rājagaha. When he saw him, he was favourably impressed with his lovely appearance and approached him and spoke to him, "For whose sake, friend, hast thou retired from the world? Who is thy teacher? Whose doctrine dost thou profess?" Then the venerable Assaji told him that he had not long been a monk and so he would not be able to expound the doctrine in full but its essence. He, however, uttered a verse—the meaning of which is :—

> "Of all objects which proceed from a cause, the Tathāgata has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great samana."

Having heard this verse uttered by the venerable Assaji, Sāriputta was established in the 'Fruit of Conversion', *i.e.*, he became a *sotāpanna*. As promised, he then went to *Moggāllāna* and pronounced the verse heard from *Assaji*. *Mogallāna* also became a *sotāpanna* at the end. He asked his friend *Sāriputta* to visit the Buddha, the Great Teacher. Sāriputta who had a deep regard for his teachers, said : "Friend, let us pay a visit to our teacher Sañjaya, and inform him that we have attained 'the Deathless.'" Accordingly, the two youths went to Sañjaya and related to him what they had learnt

from Assaji. They persuaded him to go along with them to the Buddha and become his disciples. But they failed. Then Sāriputta and Moggallāna decided to approach the Master themselves. But the two hundred and fifty followers of Sañjaya wanted to accompany them. As they all departed, Sañjaya's following broke up—the grove where they lived became empty. Being dejected, Sañjaya began to vomit hot blood.

Now at that time, the Buddha was staying at Veluvana. While he was sitting in the midst of the disciples, giving a discourse, he saw the two hundred and fifty monks, led by Sāriputta and Moggallāna, advancing towards him from afar. Having seen them, He said to his diseiples : " Oh monks, here come two friends, Kolita and Upatissa ; They will be a pair of disciples for me, the most noble pair." The two youths paid their homage to the Teacher, took their seat on one side and said to Him : " Oh Lord, we like to be ordained at your hands ; Be pleased to accept us as your followers." The Buddha, after giving a discourse, ordained them saying, " come, oh monks ! The Law has been well-taught. Lead the holy life, to the end, that all suffering may be utterly done away." Thus they were ordained and instantly they were provided with begging bows and triple-robe by supernatural power. They became as it were the senior monks (sthaviras) of hundred years' standing. Yet Sāriputta and Moggallāna did not attain Arhatship, although the others had become Arhats by that time. Buddha wanted them to be his chief disciples, and so he liked that they should undergo a special spiritual training of a higher order and that was why their attainment of Arhatship was a little delayed. Sāriputta was directed to meditate on Suññatā, *i.e.*, to acquire the knowledge that all things are void in the world, while Moggallāna on the *dhātus*, i.e., elements constituting an individual. Sāriputta attained Arhatship in a fortnight while Maggallāna in a week, after their ordination.

Services to the Order by Sāriputta and Moggallāna

On the day, Sāriputta and Moggallāna entered the Order, the Buddha assigned to them the place of chief disciples. At this the other senior monks were very much offended and began to accuse the Teacher of His favouritism in the selection of chief disciples. Thereupon the Master removed their doubt, saying : " Monks, I show no favouritism in giving this distinction ; on the other hand I confer on these monks and on all others that for which each has expressed

his earnest desire." In this connection, the Master related the history of the past lives of the monks.

The Buddha having stayed at Rājagaha as long as he desired, moved to Kapilavatthu his native place, at the instance of his father. At Kapilavatthu, he stayed in the Nigrodha-garden, close to the city. One day, he went to the palace of King Suddhodana for alms. The mother of Rāhula noticed the Buddha approaching palace with his followers and she said to her son Rāhula: "This, Rāhula, is thy father; go and ask for patrimony." Rāhula went to the Buddha and said: "Pleasing is thy shadow, oh Lord; give me inheritance, give me inheritance." The boy followed him uttering the words all the while. Then the Buddha instructed Sāriputta to ordain Rāhula, which Sāriputta did accordingly.

About 500 monks were led astray by Devadatta who was notorious for nefarious actions in the Order. One day, while Devadatta was preaching to them the falsity of the Buddha's doctrine, Sāriputta exhorted them to come back to their fold and Moggallāna exhibited various kinds of magical feats to win over their mind. The misguided monks perceived their error and followed Sāriputta and Moggallāna to the Buddha. Devadatta with his satellites pursued the monks in the hope of bringing them back but Sāriputta and Moggallāna caused a ditch to spring up on the way, which effectively stopped the further advance of Devadatta and his party. Those monks were taken back into the order on confessing their guilt.

The two chief disciples wandered far and wide, preaching the doctrine of the Master and exhorting the people to acts of charity and pure-living. Sāriputta used to convince people by his lucid exposition of the Master's doctrine while Moggallāna by his supernatural power of displaying miracles. It is said, Moggallāna was once placed in charge of two newly initiated young boys. In the beginning the boys were attentive to their studies but subsequently they were found inattentive. One day, Moggallāna took them out to enjoy a holiday. He took them to a place and transformed it into a hall. The boys heard loud sounds of cutting, sawing, striking and the like, and were highly terrified. They also witnessed ghastly scenes, such as, of men being sawed, persons grinding mills, people being put into hot cauldron and so on—they were so much frightened that their hairs stood on end. On another day, he took them out to a place for enjoying a holiday and changed that spot into heaven. They heard the sonorous sound of different kinds of musical instru-

ments such as guitar, lute, tabor and the like, played upon by the gods and saw heavenly nymphs thronging together in the mansion. They enquired of the reason for this and he told them that he had created the hell and the heaven with the aid of his miraculous power, to give them an idea of the woes of hell and the joy of heaven—both being the results of *kamma* (action). Having heard of the consequences of *kamma* (action), they began to read with care and received exhortations frequently and were released from the miseries, and ultimately attained arhatship.

Sāriputta and Maggallāna were instrumental in bringing out conversion of many persons. Noted among them were Kuṇḍalakesi, Tambadāṭhika, Kosiya and others. They devoted their lives for the propagation of the teaching of the Master and rendered invaluable services to the Order in various ways too numerous to mention here.

Sariputta & Moggallāna on Abhidhamma Exposition

We are told that Buddha first preached the Abhidhamma to the Tāvateṃsa Gods while living among them on the Paṇḍukambala rock at the foot of the Pāricchattaka tree in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven during his visit to his mother there. Subsequently, he preached it to Sāriputta who had also been to Tāvateṃsa to serve Buddha there. Then Sāriputta handed it down to Bhaddaji and by successive succession of disciples it reached Revata and others, and it took its final form in the third Council held during the reign of king Asoka. Of the seven Abhidhama treatises of the Sarvāstivāda School, preserved in the Chinese Version, two important treatises—Jñāna-prasthāna Sūtra and Dharmaskandha are ascribed to Śārīputra while Prajñapti-Shastra to Maudgyalyāyana. In Pali too, Sāriputta is found expounding the subtle and profound import of Abhidhamma philosophy to the monks and lay disciples.

Forbearance & Tolerance of Sariputta

There are several stories which relate forbearance and tolerance of the great saint Sāriputta. Once upon a time several men assembled together and began to speak of the manifold noble qualities of Sāriputta in the following manner: "Our noble master is endowed with forbearance to such a degree that even when men abuse him and strike him, he never gets the least bit angry!" Thereupon a certain Brahmin stood up angrily and said: "Well then, I will provoke him to anger." At that time Sāriputta was on his begging

rounds. The Brahmin saw him from afar, stepped up behind him and gave him a severe blow on his back. Sāriputta without taking any notice of it, went on as usual. At this the Brahmin became highly repentant and asked his pardon. Sāriputta readily pardoned the Brahmin who led him to his house and served him with food. The bystanders were filled with anger and taking stones, clods of earth and sticks stood waiting at the door of the Brahmin's house. They resolved to kill the Brahmin outright when he would be coming out. The Brahmin came out of the house with Sāriputta and the people waiting outside asked the Brahmin to go back. Whereupon Sāriputta asked the reason of it and knowing they wanted to kill the Brahmin said: "What do you mean? Did he strike you or me? If he struck me, he begged my pardon; you go your way". So saying he dismissed the bystanders and allowed the Brahmin to return safely.

On another occasion Sāriputta was sitting with his friend Moggallāna in an open space. Two demons were passing on and found Sāriputta sitting in a state of trance with his head newly shaven. One of the demons felt a strong desire to give a good blow on the head of Sāriputta. The other demon tried to dissuade saying: "He is a great saint possessing great magical power". Without paying heed to the advice of the second the first demon gave a severe blow on Sāriputta's head. No sooner did he give the blow than he felt a terrible burning sensation in him and fell down into hell. His friend Moggallāna noticed this incident and spoke to him: "Are you comfortable brother? Are you doing well? Does nothing trouble you? Sāriputta replied: "I am quite comfortable, brother! I am well, but my head troubles me a little."

Now the Buddha hearing the occurrence breathed forth the following utterance:

"The man whose mind, like to a rock,
Unmoved stands, and shaketh not;
Which no delights can e'er inflame,
Or provocations rouse to wrath—
O, whence can trouble come to him,
Who thus hath nobly trained his mind?"

Buddha's Appreciation of Sāriputta and Moggallāna

The following was uttered by Buddha in praise of the two chief disciples. "Follow, almsmen, Sāriputta and Moggallāna and be

guided by them; they are wise helpers unto their fellowsi n the higher life. Like a mother is Sāriputta; like a child's wet-nurse is Moggallāna. Sāriputta trains in the fruits of conversion, Moggallāna trains in the highest good. Sāriputta is able to announce, teach ... and manifest the four Noble Truths in all their details".

In praise of Sāriputta: "Sāriputta is like the first-born son of a world-ruling monarch who assists the king as his chief follower to set the wheel of the law a-rolling."

Gleanings From the Sayings of Sāriputta

Sāriputta on the exposition of the four Noble Truths:

"Birth is, for living creatures of each several class, the being born or produced, the issue, the arising or the re-arising, the appearance of the plastic forces, the growth of faculties.

"Decay, for living creatures of each several class, is the decay and decaying, loss of teeth, grey hair, wrinkles, a dwindling term of life, sere faculties.

"Death for living creatures of each several class, is the passage and passing hence, the dissolution, disappearance, death, decease, the dissolution of the plastic forces, the discording of the dead body.

"Grief is the grief, grieving and grievous men, the inward grief and inward anguish of any one who suffiers under some misfortune or is in the grief of some type of Ill.

"Lamentation is the lament and lamentation the wailing and lamenting of anyone who suffers under some misfortune or is in the grip of some type of Ill.

"Pain is any bodily Ill or bodily evil, any Ill bred of bodily contact, any evil feeling.

"Misery is mental Ill and evil, any evil feeling of the mind.

"Tribulation is the tribulation of heart and mind, the state to which tribulation brings them, in any one who suffers under some misfortune or is in the grip of some type of Ill.

"There remains not to get what is derived. In creatures subject to birth—or decay—or death—or grief and lamentation, pain, misery and tribulation—the devise arises not to be subject thereto but to escape them. But escape is not to be won merely by desiring it; and failure to win it is another Ill.

"It is any craving that makes, for re-birth and is tied up with passion's delights and culls satisfaction now here now there;—such as the craving for sensual pleasure, the craving for continuing existence, and the craving for annihilation.

"It is the utter and passionless cessation of this same craving,—the abandonment and rejection of craving, deliverance from craving, and aversion from craving.

"It is just the Noble Eightfold Path, consisting of—right outlook, right resolves, right speech, right acts, right livelihood, right endeavour, right mindfulness and right rapture of concentration.

"Right outlook is to know Ill, the origin of Ill, and the path that leads to the cessation of Ill.

"Right speech is to abstain from lies and slander, from reviling, and from tattle.

"Right acts are to abstain from taking life, from stealing and lechery.

"Right livelihood is that by which the disciple of the Noble one supports himself, to the exclusion of wrong modes of livelihood.

"Right endeavour is when an Almsman brings his will to bear, puts forth endeavour and energy, struggles and strives with all his heart, to stop bad and wrong qualities which have not yet arisen from ever arising, to renounce those which have already arisen, to foster good qualities which have not yet arisen, and, finally, to establish, clarify, multiply, enlarge, develop, and perfect those good qualities which are there already.

"Right mindfulness is when realising what the body is,—what feelings are—what the heart is—and what the mental states are—an Almsman dwells ardent, alert and mindful, in freedom from the wants and discontents attendant on any of these things.

"Right rapture of concentration is when, divested of lusts and divested of wrong dispositions, an Almsman developes, and dwells in, the First Ecstasy with all its zest and satisfaction, a state bred of aloofness and not divorced from observation and reflection by laying to rest observation and reflection, he develops and dwells in inward serenity, in focussing of heart, in the rest and satisfaction of the Second Ecstasy, which is divorced from observation and reflection and is bred of concentration,—passing thence to the Third and Fourth Ecstasies."

Sāriputta on happiness and sorrow :

"Rebirth is sorrowful, no rebirth is bliss. On there being rebirth, sorrow is to be expected... When there is no rebirth, bliss is to be expected—neither cold nor heat, neither hunger nor thirst, no natural needs, no wound from fire or staff or sword, nor relatives and acquaintences, nor going and coming disturb."

Sāriputta to Anāthapiṇḍika :

"Thou must train thyself, householder, saying, 'I will not grasp at this world, nor shall my mind become dependent on this world .. I will not grasp at a world beyond, nor shall my mind become dependent on a world beyond.'... Anything seen, heard, perceived, thought, investigated by the mind—that I will not grasp at nor shall my mind become dependent on that."

Death of Sāriputta and Moggallāna

Towards the close of his life, Sāriputta thought of conveying to his old mother the knowledge which he had gained throughout his life. So he proceeded to Nālada, his native place. While staying at Nālada, he fell ill and his attendent Cunda waited upon him ; but inspite of all efforts of the attendent, Sāriputta died. The sad news was conveyed by Cunda to Ananda who in turn related it to the Buddha: "Cunda, reverend sir says thus: 'The venerable Sāriputta, revered sir, has died ; this is his outer robe with his bowl.' Indeed, reverend sir, my body was never swooning and the quarters [of the heavens] became dim to me and objects became darkened to me when I heard "The Venerable Sāriputta has died."' On hearing this the Buddha remarked: "Just as if, Ananda, of a great tree standing firm the mightiest limb should dissolve, even so, Ananda, of the great mendicant community standing firm [the greatest disciple] Sāriputta has died. And how, Ananda, in this case is anything else possible? That what is born, produced, compounded, dissolvable by nature, that this indeed should not be dissolved—such a thing is not to be found."

At the demise of his dear friend Sāriputta, Moggallāna was deeply moved and burst forth into following utterances:—

"O ! then was terror, then was mighty dread,
When stiffened hair and quivered creeping nerve,
When he, endowed with every crowning grace,
The Venerable Sāriputta passed away.
O transient are our life's experiences !
Their nature 'tis to rise and pass away.
They happen in our ken, they cease to be,
O well for us when they are sunk to rest !"

Moggallāna could not endure the pangs of separation from his beloved friend, Sāriputta. He died just a fortnight after Sāriputta's death. It is said that the followers of Nigaṇtha Nātaputta brought

about the death of Moggallāna in a very cruel manner. He also died at his native place Kolita.

On the death of his two chief disciples, Buddha painfully remarked to his disciples: "Verily, mendicant brothers, this assembly seems as though empty; Sāriputta and Moggallāna being dead, the assembly is empty for me, mendicant brothers. There is no yearning for life in me." Shortly, indeed, the Buddha also attained Parinibbāna.

In the Buddhistic texts, it is stated that four distinguished personages—a Paramount King, a Buddha, a Paccekabuddha and an arhat—were worthy of being honoured by the erection of stūpas over their relics.

Following this, memorial mounds (stūpas) were erected over the relics of Sāriputta and Moggallāna, to preserve their memory.

Both Sāriputta and Moggallāna pre-deceased the Buddha. The two great friends, as in life, so after death were not separated—their relics have been laid together at Sanchi. They occupied a unique position in the order. They were known as the 'Model Pair.' Sāriputta was called the Dhammasenāpati (Commander of the Faith). It was he who could only claim to have mastered the subtleties of the Abhidharma Philosophy. He could also expound the doctrine in the same manner as the Master did and that was why we find the Buddha often asking Sāriputta to preach to the monks instead of himself. Moggallāna was called Mahāmoggallāna—the epithet *mahā* was given to distinguish him from other monks of the same name. He was reputed for his strictness of discipline in the order. Sāriputta was to Buddha what Swami Vivekananda was to Ramkrishna Paramahaṃsa Deva, and St. John to Christ. As already observed, memorial mounds (stūpas) were erected over the relics of the two deceased saints at their native places. Here is a question—why and how the relics were brought to Sanchi? We know that Theravāda Buddhism was well-established in Central India and such well-known places as Sanchi, Ujjeni and the like were the strong-holds of it just a few hundred years after the demise of the Buddha. Asoka, whose manifold activities for Buddhism are well-known, married a lady of Ujjeni named Devī. He did not bring her to his capital at *Pataliputra*. She was left there. To her were born a son *Mahinda* and a daughter *Sanghamittā*. Devī became a great devotee of Buddhism after her contact with her husband Asoka. Presumably it was through Devī's efforts that the relics of the two distinguished saints were brought to Sanchi.

INDIA, THE UNITED STATES, AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH*

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I apologize for beginning with an apology, but the truth is that I come before you with considerable hesitation—partly because I agree in general with our financier-statesman and park-bench philosopher, Mr. Bernard Baruch, that too many people in these United States are talking and too few are thinking, but more particularly because of an embarrassing awareness that India, which I have never had the benefit and pleasure of visiting, is really an unknown country to me. William James, in his treatise on Psychology, distinguished between what he called "knowledge of acquaintance" and "knowledge about." From reading and conversation with Indian friends I hope that I have acquired a little knowledge *about* India, but the *knowledge of acquaintance* is lacking. I can only trust that those of you to whom India is home are in a charitable mood this evening. I am conscious, too, of a sense of heavy obligation. It is a great honor to have been invited to inaugurate the MARY KEATINGE DAS MEMORIAL LECTURES, but it is an honor that carries weighty responsibilities—the responsibility of *trying*, at least, to be unprejudiced and tolerant, to recognize the unworthiness of racial or religious discrimination, and to view the fallible human actors on the stage of history with charity and good humor. "I met a hundred men on the road to Delhi, and they were all my brothers." Mary Keatinge Das was a shining example of the sentiment expressed in that line.

I owe it to you to explain that my interest in India originated in exigencies of teaching the history of the British Empire. Being called upon to give courses on this subject, I could not, obviously, omit India, which has been part of the British Empire for more than a hundred years (reckoning the establishment of British political

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supremacy throughout the Indian sub-continent as dating from about 1820), and which contains something like three-fourths of the population of the whole Empire. My professional interest in India, accordingly, has lain in this British period, which, from the standpoint of India's long history, has been rather brief in years ; but it has been crowded with memorable events and significant developments. Whatever the future may have in store for the people of India (and I include Pakistan as being a part of, or rather, parts of India geographically, in spite of the partition of 1947), whether they decide to remain in some sort of constitutional communion with the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations or to follow the example of their neighbor Burma, which withdrew from the Commonwealth last January (as the result of a friendly transaction, be it noted, and without malice or bitterness on either side), India's connection with Britain can never be looked back to as a mere interlude in the course of Indian history. For weal or for woe, and we hope for weal, that connection has put an indelible impress upon Indian life and thought.

On the Fourth of July last, Prime Minister Nehru, in a message to the Chargé d'Affaires of the United States in India, said: "This day has a significance not only for the United States of America but for all freedom-loving countries of the world. India's own movement for freedom received inspiration and encouragement from the story of American independence." No doubt there is truth in this latter statement, for even though formal education in India, under the British Raj (as in Britain itself until recently), did little to convey information about the history and culture of the United States as an independent country, Indian university students were required to have some knowledge of American colonial and Revolutionary history when the colonies that became the United States were still a part of the British Empire and while they were breaking away from it. And among politically-minded Indians, interest in American government has been wide-spread, interest especially in our federal system because of the applicability of federalism to the conditions of public life in India.

I propose to say something about the relationship in ideas (especially political ideas) and practices between India and the United States. This relationship is explained largely by the fact that both countries have been parts of the same Empire and have derived their political views and practices from the same source. And so I have

entitled my remarks "India, the United States, and the British Commonwealth." This, incidentally, has the merit of being so indefinite that you can hardly accuse me of irrelevancy, no matter what I may say.

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The laws and governmental institutions in existence in the thirteen British North American colonies when, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, they became independent and, a few years later, adopted the present Constitution of the United States were based upon English laws and governmental institutions, as those had developed during the colonial period of American history. Back in the 1890's a book was published entitled *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America,* in which the author attempted to show that what is of greatest value in the Constitution of the United States, as in American institutions generally, is of Dutch origin. It enjoyed considerable popularity and quickly went through several editions. As the bearer of a Dutch name I ought, perhaps, to appreciate and applaud the author's effort, but as a student of history I am compelled to pronounce it highly fanciful, not to say preposterous. The best I can do for the author here is to refrain from mentioning his name. A number of enthusiasts of the hero-worship cult has tried in vain to show that the Constitution had a personal inventor, that it was a product of an individual mind. The most astonishing claim of this kind was elaborated in a volume published in 1911, *The Origin and Growth of the American Constitution.* The writer, and I leave him also anonymous, had achieved an enviable reputation in law and diplomacy and was favorably known as the author of a work on the English Constitution. His book, therefore, attracted considerable attention. On the strength of a pamphlet by a certain Pelatiah Webster, a merchant of Philadelphia during and after the American Revolution, in which several proposals for constitutional change were made, the writer hailed Webster as the "architect" of the Constitution and reprinted his pamphlet as "the first draft of the existing Constitution of the United States." Unfortunately, he gave no evidence to show that Webster's pamphlet was mentioned in the Convention that framed the Constitution, or, indeed, that any of the members of the Convention had read it. His failure to establish his sensational thesis, especially in view of his solemnity in presenting it, was little short of ludicrous. (One is

moved to wonder what weird ideas about the origin of the recently framed Constitution of India may be offered to the public in the future). Even the theory that the Constitution of the United States was copied from the contemporary English constitution must be rejected, though some eminent writers can be cited in support of it. The United States Constitution was thoroughly English, to be sure, but English because it was the result of long experience by English colonials with English institutions as they had been working for generations in English colonies.

By no means all Americans, when the United States became independent, were of English descent. There were Dutch (mainly in New York); there were Germans (mainly in Pennsylvania); there were French Huguenots in South Carolina, New York, and elsewhere, and Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, many of them in the back country, on the frontier. The Dutch and German languages (the latter miscalled "Pennsylvania Dutch") were still spoken in New York and Pennsylvania respectively. Fortunately, however, in framing the Constitution of the United States it was not necessary to grapple with the problem of cultural minorities, a problem which has since proved to be so difficult and so vexing in many parts of the world, and notably in India; and the document gives no evidence of the existence of cultural minorities, as the new Constitution of India explicitly does. There were, to be sure, cleavages and antagonisms in American society in 1787, as was shown in detail by the late Charles Beard, but they ran along economic lines—debtors *v.* creditors, farmers *v.* merchants—not along religious, racial, or linguistic lines. Dutch-speaking Americans in the Hudson and Mohawk valleys and German-speaking Americans in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, did not demand guarantees against exploitation or discrimination at the hands of the English-speaking majority. We were mercifully spared the misfortunes of official multi-lingualism and communal representation !

The text of the Draft Constitution of India, which was prepared by a Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly and published a few months ago, leaves us in no doubt regarding what might be called the "Englishry" of many of its provisions. When we read that the Supreme Court of India is to have power to issue orders in the nature of "the writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto, and certiorari," we do not have to ask what legal system the framers of the Indian Constitution had in

mind. The provision that no judge of the Supreme Court of India shall be removed from office unless an address asking for his removal has been approved by both houses of the Parliament of India—that is to say, that no judge of the Supreme Court shall be subject to dismissal by the executive alone—recalls a clause of the English Act of Settlement of 1701. And when we find that there is to be "a Council of ministers with the Prime Minister at the head," and that this Council "shall be collectively responsible to the House of the People" (the name given to the lower house of the new central legislature) we know that the Indian constitution-makers intended to set up the system of responsible cabinet government which originated in England, was extended in the nineteenth century to the politically more advanced of the British colonies (which came to be known as self-governing colonies and, later on, Dominions), and has been copied by many foreign countries—not always with conspicuous success.

The desire for Dominion Status, so strong in Indian Nationalist circles after the First World War, was a desire for the status which these self-governing colonies had attained within the British Commonwealth of Nations, a status which was declared by the Imperial Conference of 1926 to be one of constitutional equality with Britain. This Dominion Status was finally secured by India on August 15, 1947, and she is free to exchange it peacefully for complete political separation from Britain and the other members of the Commonwealth if she chooses to do so. A laconic footnote to the opening words of the Preamble of the Draft Constitution of India states that the question of the relationship between India and the Commonwealth "remains to be decided subsequently." This question was not considered formally in the meetings of Commonwealth prime ministers held in London during the past month, at which the Prime Minister of India, according to all accounts, played a leading part, but it is known that the question was discussed privately

Responsible government for British colonies was at first supposed to be applicable only to colonies that were predominantly British in culture, language, and political traditions. This was the view of Lord Durham, who, in his celebrated *Report on the Affairs of British North America*, published in 1839, recommended the introduction of responsible government, with some reservations, in Canada and the other British North American colonies, and it was the view of his fellow colonial reformers generally. But this discrimination

against "lesser breeds without the law" could not be maintained permanently. It was abandoned in the famous Pronouncement made by another imperial statesman, Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, on August 20, 1917, when he declared in Parliament that the policy of the British Government was "the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." During the years following this declaration Indian Nationalists were dissatisfied with what they considered to be the overslow pace of advance toward responsible government, as represented by acts passed by Parliament for the government of India. Yet the Montagu Pronouncement was a landmark, not only in the history of India but in the history of the British Empire as a whole. For, as Professor Alfred Zimmern observed in a book published in 1926 entitled *The Third British Empire*, the Montagu Pronouncement marked "the definite repudiation of the idea that there can be, under the British flag, one form of constitutional evolution for the West and another for the East. or one for the white races and another for the non-white." It marked, he went on to say, the recognition by the British Government that "the principle of nationality...is valid also for India, and, if for India, for the other non-white British peoples also." In this connection it is to be noted that the colony of Ceylon attained Dominion Status last February.

* * * *

The feature of American government that has probably aroused greatest interest in India has been our federal system. The temporary chairman of the Constituent Assembly of India, in his opening speech, dwelt at length on American federalism and suggested ways in which American experience with federal government might be of help in establishing a new central government in India. And the present Indian ambassador to the United States, Sir Benegal Rama Rau, said in a broadcast on August 15 last, the first anniversary of Indian independence, that the new Indian constitution was based on American as well as British practice. In some respects, to be sure, American practice has not been followed, as, for example, in the provisions of the Indian Constitution for the election of the President of India; and in the distribution of legislative power, residual powers are given to the central government instead of to the states, as in our American system. Yet wherever federalism has been introduced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there

has been indebtedness, direct or indirect, to the Constitution of the United States.

Before American experience had shown the contrary, it used to be generally supposed that federal government was suitable only for small countries. It is not surprising that such an opinion was held at a time when federalism was confined to Switzerland and the Netherlands and the great powers were centralized monarchies. The English historian Edward A. Freeman, in a work on federal government written some eighty-five years ago, gave as the principal examples of federalism the ancient Greek Achaian League, the Swiss Confederation, the Netherlands, and the United States. Of these only the last was drawn on a large geographical scale, and what the learned author thought of its chances of survival is indicated by the title of his book: *History of Federal Government from the Foundation of the Achaian League to the Disruption of the United States*. It is only fair to add that the first volume of this work appeared during our American Civil War, shortly after the Battle of Fredericksburg, at a time when General Lee seemed to be invincible. The second volume was never published.

The years since Freeman wrote have seen a remarkable spread of federalism. Logically, federalism does not necessarily involve democracy, but democracy on a large geographical scale may be said to involve federalism. Federal government, in some form or other, seems to be the only democratic system of government for peoples inhabiting wide stretches of territory, with widely diverse local interests and needs. India, determined to be a democratic state, and in its new constitution proclaiming itself to be a "Sovereign Democratic Republic," is a "natural" for federalism.

* * * *

A study of history sometimes results in startling surprises. One of these will be encountered by twentieth-century students of contemporary political and constitutional relations within the British Commonwealth who happen to turn their attention to ideas regarding the constitutional character and structure of the British Empire held by leading Americans at the time of the American Revolution and by a number of Englishmen who sympathized with the American cause.

On the eve of the Revolution the British colonies that were soon to declare themselves independent had reached a stage in their development at which the colonial status, as understood by the British government, was felt by a large proportion of their inhabitants to be

intolerable. The constitutional issue was: Could a higher status be found for them *within* the Empire, or only by separation from it? Earnest discussion of imperial relations took place on both sides of the Atlantic and produced an extensive literature in the form of pamphlets, letters and articles in newspapers, speeches, resolutions adopted by public bodies, etc. But the constructive imperial ideas of those who desired a peaceful solution of the controversy between the colonies and the mother country and their serious efforts to secure a settlement were in the end frustrated by a British conservatism, lacking in sympathetic understanding of American conditions and devoid of imagination, and, on the other hand, a colonial radicalism that came to demand total separation from the mother country.

In Great Britain the prevailing view regarding the nature of the empire was that it was *a single state*, subject throughout all its parts to the authority of the British Parliament. This idea was in accordance with the facts of British colonial administration and was held by everybody except a relatively small number of advanced political thinkers, though there were Englishmen like William Pitt and Lord Camden who, taking their stand on what they called the principles of the British Constitution and natural law, thought that there were limits to Parliament's legal powers, notably with respect to taxation. In America too, during the early years of the dispute with the mother country, the large majority regarded the Empire as a single state and conceded to Parliament varying degrees of authority over the colonies. On the eve of the appeal to arms, however, a contrary conception rapidly gained headway, and, opposed to the unitary theory of the Empire, there came into existence what I venture to call a pluralistic theory.

When champions of the American cause advanced to the point of denying to Parliament *all legislative authority* over the colonies, when they advanced in the contest of argument which preceded the outbreak of armed hostilities from the position of no taxation without representation to no legislation of any kind without representation, a conception of the constitutional structure of the Empire radically different from the unitary theory was explicit or implicit in their thought. At the time of the Stamp Act, which was passed by Parliament ten years before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, there was disagreement as to the *extent* of Parliament's authority over the colonies, but opinion was substantially unanimous (both American and British) that Parliament had *some* lawful authority

over them. The Stamp Act Congress, which met here in the City of New York in October, 1765, acknowledged what it called "all due subordination" to Parliament. Benjamin Franklin's changing view about the nature of the British Empire is a good example of the evolution of the pluralistic theory.

In his examination before the House of Commons a few months after the passing of the Stamp Act, Franklin said: "The authority of Parliament was allowed to be valid in all laws except such as should lay internal taxes." But within two years his ideas on this subject underwent a sea change, for in 1768 he wrote:

> The more I have thought and read on the subject, the more I find myself confirmed in opinion that no middle doctrine can be well maintained; I mean not clearly and with intelligible arguments. Something might be made of either of the extremes: that Parliament has a power to make *all laws* for us, or that it has a power to make *no laws* for us; and I think the arguments for the latter more numerous and weighty than those for the former. Supposing that doctrine established, the colonies would then be so many separate states, only subject to the same King, as England and Scotland were before the Union.

Franklin developed the same thought in private letters written in 1770, and no doubt he was busily propagating it by word of mouth to friends and acquaintances in England, where he was living at this time.

> That the colonies (he wrote) were originally constituted distinct states, and intended to be continued such, is clear to me from a thorough consideration of their original charters, and the whole conduct of the crown and (British) nation towards them until the Restoration. Since that period, the Parliament here has usurped an authority of making laws for them, which before it had not. We have for some time submitted to that usurpation, partly through ignorance and inattention, and partly from our weakness and inability to contend.....

And in another letter, also written in 1770, he said:

> In fact the British empire is not a single state; it comprehends many; and though the Parliament of Great Britain has

> arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right to do so than it has to tax Hanover. We have the same King, but not the same legislature.

Before the outbreak of armed hostilities between the colonies and the mother country there were published a number of writings in which views similar to Franklin's were set forth. There is time to mention only a few of them. One was a pamphlet by James Wilson of Pennsylvania entitled *Considerations on the Nature and Extent of the Legislative Authority of the British Parliament.* Wilson was one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, and a very important one, who ought to be better known to us than he is. A Scot by birth and educated at the universities of St. Andrews and Glasgow, he came to America in 1765 at the age of twenty-three. He was a member of the Continental Congress, a very important member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 whose part in its proceedings entitles him to be considered one of the principal framers of the Constitution, a leading member of the Convention that ratified the Constitution for the state of Pennsylvania, and one of the original members of the Supreme Court set up under the new Constitution in 1789, to which he was appointed by President Washington. The pamphlet which I have mentioned was published in 1774, about the time of the meeting of the First Continental Congress, while Wilson, like all the other inhabitants of the Thirteen Colonies, was still a British subject, but he informed his readers that it had been written some years before. It was probably written in or near the year 1770. Wilson began his study, he said, expecting to be able to trace "some constitutional line between those cases in which we ought, and those in which we ought not, to acknowledge the power of parliament over us." But in the course of his inquiries he became convinced that there was no such line, that in his words, "there can be no medium between acknowledging and denying that power in *all* cases." Arguing from natural law and the fact that the colonies sent no representatives to the British Parliament, Wilson concluded that it was "repugnant to the essential maxims of jurisprudence, to the ultimate end of all governments, to the genius of the British constitution, and to the liberty and happiness of the colonies, that they should be bound by the legislative authority of the parliament of Great Britain." It followed, in Wilson's view, that "all the members of the British Empire are distinct states, independent of each other, but connected together under the same sovereign, in right of the same crown." To

keep this collection of mutually independent and constitutionally co-equal states in harmony Wilson would look to their common head, the British King.

A contemporary of Wilson's, better known to us, was Thomas Jefferson. In a document intended as a body of instructions for Virginia's delegates to the First Continental Congress, though it did not actually serve this purpose, Jefferson expressed a conception of the constitutional relations between the colonies and the mother country and of the authority of the British parliament practically identical with that to which Franklin and Wilson had come. This *Summary View of the Rights of British America*, as it was entitled, was published anonymously in Williamsburg in 1774 and very soon reprinted in Philadelphia and London. The founders of the English colonies, according to Jefferson, exercised their natural right to emigrate from their mother country and establish new societies, just as their remote Anglo-Saxon ancestors had done when they emigrated from their native forests in northern Europe to establish themselves in the island of Britain. The two emigrations, in his opinion, were fundamentally similar, and since the Saxons who remained on the Continent never claimed any superiority or authority over those who had left, the inference to be drawn was that the modern inhabitants of Great Britain had no better claim to authority over British colonists. The denial of British authority over the colonists, however, was not left in the realm of inference. Jefferson was quite explicit that "the British parliament has no right to exercise authority over us." The king, in his opinion, was the only constitutional bond of union between the mother country and the colonies, "the only mediatory power between the several states of the British empire," and Jefferson called on his majesty to recommend to his parliament in Great Britain the repeal of the acts against which the colonists were protesting. The future draftsman of the Declaration of Independence, it should be remarked, had not yet taken an admittedly revolutionary position. He was still reasoning as a subject of King George III when he wrote this *Summary View of the Rights of British America*.

It may be of interest to note that Jefferson's later rival and political enemy, John Adams, was at this time in agreement with him as to the constitutional nature of the Empire. Adams wrote a series of papers which appeared in a Boston newspaper in 1775 over the pseudonym "Novanglus." In them he went into somewhat weari-

some detail on matters of precedent, but his conception of the Empire was presented clearly enough. He regarded it as a league of equal states with a common executive head but with no common legislature. George III was King of Massachusetts, Virginia, and of each of the other colonies, as well as King of Great Britain and King of Ireland, and Adams wished that His Majesty would be pleased to assume those titles formally.

I think it would not be an exaggeration to say that the conception of the British Empire expressed by Wilson and Jefferson and John Adams was held by the majority of the more advanced colonial leaders in those last days before they became avowed revolutionists. That was the opinion of James Madison, who, a quarter of a century after the Declaration of Independence, gave the following constitutional interpretation of the American Revolution:

> The fundamental principle of the Revolution was, that the Colonies were co-ordinate members with each other and with Great Britain, of an empire united by a common executive sovereign, but not united by any common legislative sovereign. The legislative power was maintained to be as complete in each American Parliament, as in the British Parliament. And the royal prerogative was in force in each colony by virtue of its acknowledging the King for its executive magistrate, as it was in Great Britain by virtue of a like acknowledgment there. A denial of these principles by Great Britain, and the assertion of them by America, produced the Revolution.

I am not suggesting that we ought to regard Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and James Madison as "fathers" of the present British Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is a product of conditions which the American Revolutionists could not have foreseen, and I know of no evidence to indicate that its evolution was affected by their thought. Yet there is no denying the striking resemblance between the ideas about the British Empire expressed by those founders of the American Republic a hundred and seventy-five years ago and the principles of association between Great Britain and the British Dominions proclaimed in the well-known declaration of equality of status put forth by the Imperial Conference in 1926:

> They [that is, Great Britain and the Dominions] are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in

> status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

If we should say that the men who were about to destroy the old British Empire had, for a moment at least, a vision of its destiny denied to those who were striving to preserve it, even in that seeming paradox there would be truth.

The conception of the British Empire as a league of equal states was by no means confined to colonial minds during the period of the American Revolution. The British radical movement of the eighteenth century is remembered chiefly because of its agitation for parliamentary reform. Some of those most actively associated with it, however, were deeply interested in the cause of the American colonies and expressed views regarding the nature and proper organization of the British Empire similar to those we have been examining. As representative of this type of opinion it will be sufficient for present purposes to consider the ideas of one of the leading British radicals, Major John Cartwright, whose pamphlet entitled *Take Your Choice* was published in 1776. It was a plea for universal male suffrage that won for its author the name of "The Father of Reform."

Two years before this, however, Cartwright entered the lists as a champion of American rights with a series of letters addressed to Parliament and printed in an English newspaper in 1774. These were published in pamphlet form later in the same year with the title *American Independence, the Interest and Glory of Great Britain.* He caused a summary of his arguments, together with the tract itself, to be distributed to members of Parliament, and a second edition, containing some supplementary matter, was published in 1775, but British public opinion, inflamed by the recent tea episode at Boston, was at the time so preponderantly hostile to the colonies that Cartwright's views seem to have made no great impression. In his political theory Cartwright was a whole-hearted and uncompromising disciple of the English political philosopher John Locke and accepted as self-evident axioms the assumptions of the natural-rights school concerning the rights of man and the origin, nature, and purposes of government, assumptions that were to receive their classic formulation for Americans from the pen of another disciple of Locke, Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence.

It was all very simple, as Cartwright saw it, as simple as an elementary theorem in Euclid. Since the American colonists, in common with all mankind, had an inherent and absolute right to freedom, and since no people could be free who were not governed by their own consent, it followed that a parliament in which the colonists were not represented could have no valid claim to authority over them. A further deduction was that the British Empire, by rights, was not a single state, with the British Parliament as its central legislature, but a group of states, equal in constitutional status, with co-ordinate legislatures and a common executive head in the King. To the argument that military necessity—the defence of the whole Empire—required that Parliament should have sovereign authority over all parts of it Cartwright replied that

> if an empire be too large, and its parts too widely separated by immense oceans, or other impediments, to admit of being governed on the principles essentially belonging to all free governments, it is an over-grown empire, and ought to be divided before it fall to pieces. The welfare and happiness of mankind supersede every other possible claim or pretension to govern.

Cartwright's concrete proposal for the solution of the imperial problem was an act of Parliament declaring that it was inconsistent with the welfare of the colonists, and prejudicial to their natural inherent rights as men, to be governed by the Parliament of Great Britain, and that the colonies were free and independent states, each with a legislature of its own but all recognizing the headship of the same King. The act, he thought, ought to provide for a treaty between Great Britain and these free and independent states in order that "a firm, brotherly, and perpetual league" might be established for mutual economic benefit and collective security. In a postscript to his pamphlet Cartwright gave the text of his proposed emancipating act and suggested as a suitable name for the association or commonwealth of free and equal states which he envisaged "The Grand British League and Confederacy."

The essentials of Cartwright's proposed League were (1) equality of constitutional status as between all of its members, (2) common allegiance to the same King, that is to say, a common citizenship among the inhabitants of all parts of the League, and (3) voluntary co-operation based on free association—precisely the same, be it noted,

as the salient characteristics of the British Commonwealth of Nations formulated by the Imperial Conference in 1926.

* * * *

At present, however, the Commonwealth is evidently in a stage of transition. For one thing, and it is a great thing, India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, possessing vast material resources and comprising some 400,000,000 inhabitants, have recently taken their places as sovereign members of the Commonwealth, and one of them at least—India—is a potential Great Power. They are classed for the moment as Dominions, but the forms and symbolism of Dominion Status seem to be hardly reconcilable with their aspirations or, indeed, suited to their needs. The fact is that Dominion Status, as defined by the Imperial Conference of 1926, has not in the long run worked satisfactorily except in the case of communities which had formerly been British colonies, which were predominantly British in culture, speech, and historical tradition, in which Dominion Status came about through a natural evolutionary process, and by whose inhabitants it was looked upon as constitutional progress. It has worked best, to be specific, in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. It has not worked so well in South Africa, where preponderant sentiment among the Boer population has always been republican. And in the Irish Free State, now known as Eire, it broke down a few years after it was set up in 1922. Eire has undoubtedly had very considerable influence on recent political thinking in India, and Eire's relations with the United Kingdom and the other members of the Commonwealth may well have important effects upon future developments in the Commonwealth.

It is difficult to say just what Eire is in a political sense because it does not fit into any conventional political pigeon-hole. Its constitution declares it to be "a sovereign, independent, democratic State," establishes a republican form of government with a popularly elected president and without any representative of the King (such as each of the older Dominions is provided with in the person of its governor-general), and makes no specific mention of the King. The strongest tradition of the country—next to its religious faith and intimately related to this historically—is anti-English, which is understandable enough to those who know something of Anglo-Irish history. It would be an understatement to say that there is no spontaneous sense of loyalty to His Majesty King George VI in Eire. We all remember that in the late war the country adopted and adhered

to a position of neutrality, though thousands of its citizens eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity for a fight, by volunteering—in the cause of democracy. Eire has not as yet formally withdrawn from the Commonwealth, though its present Prime Minister has stated that it intends to do so. On the day on which its republican constitution came into force (December 29, 1937) the British Government issued a formal statement to the effect that it did not regard the new constitution as making any fundamental change in the status of Eire as a member of the Commonwealth, and this statement had the approval of the governments of the oversea Dominions. In other words, the British and Dominion governments have regarded Eire as a Dominion. Mr. De Valera, then Prime Minister of Eire, made no comment on the British statement, either in acquiescence or denial, and his silence on the constitutional relation of his country to the United Kingdom and the other members of the Commonwealth lasted for seven and a half years. At length, in July, 1945, he declared, speaking in his parliament at Dublin: "We are an independent Republic, associated as a matter of our external policy with the States of the British Commonwealth." He went on to give definitions of the word "republic" from standard dictionaries and said: "If anyone still persists in maintaining that our State is not a republic, I cannot argue with him, for we have no common language." As to whether Eire was inside or outside the Commonwealth, he declined to commit himself, because the material necessary for a conclusive answer, he said, was not available. It depended on what was considered to be the essential element in the constitution of the Commonwealth. "The British Commonwealth," he continued "claims to be an elastic, growing, developing organism, and the statesmen of the Commonwealth have, I think, accepted the view of Joseph De Maistre that 'in all system there are relationships which it is wiser to leave undefined.'" Two years later, in 1947, Mr. De Valera became a little more explicit. "As a matter of our external policy," he said, "we are associated with the States of the British Commonwealth of Nations. We are not members of it. We are associates of the States of the Commonwealth ;. . . . if they regard the existence of the King as a necessary link, if they consider that it is the bond they have, then we have not got that bond."

When the Draft Constitution of India is put into effect the country will become a sovereign republic, and allegiance to the King will be discarded ; and thereby, Dominion Status, which has historically involved an allegiance held in common with other members of the

Commonwealth, will be ruled out as the solution for India's relations with Britain and the other states of the Commonwealth. But even so, it would not follow necessarily that India must sever all ties with the Commonwealth. Even Eire under the De Valera regime did not quite do that. Of its own free will and by virtue of its own constitutional law it has been externally associated with the states of the Commonwealth. It has made use of the British King—and I employ that expression advisedly—in the appointment of its diplomatic representatives in foreign countries and in treaty-making. The Constitution of Eire makes no mention of the King, to be sure, but it contains an oblique allusion to him in the following extraordinary circumlocution, which must have been the outcome of deep meditation on how to avoid being explicit and anxious care in phraseology :

> For the purpose of the exercise of any executive function of the State in or in connection with its external relations, the Government may to such extent and subject to such conditions, if any, as may be determined by law, avail of or adopt any organ, instrument, or method of procedure used or adopted for the like purpose by the members of any group or league of nations with which the State is or becomes associated for the purpose of international co-operation in matters of common concern.

More definitely, however, Eire's external relationship with the countries of the Commonwealth has had some important consequences, which presumably would cease if she formally severed all ties with the British monarchy. One is that citizens of Eire have not been treated as aliens in Britain or the Dominions, and another, that Eire has received certain preferences in the tariffs of those countries.

The leaders of the dominant party in India, the Congress Party, while committed to the establishment of a sovereign republic, seem to be convinced of the importance of India's maintaining very close elations with Britain and the Commonwealth ; and what has come out in the press about the conference of Commonwealth prime ministers held last month points to the same conclusion, in spite of the undoubted existence of strains and stresses within the Commonwealth. Prime Minister Nehru, in a speech made while he was in London as India's representative at the meeting, referred to a great change of sentiment in the relations between India and Britain :

> Remembering the past background of the generation-old struggle and bitter conflict, it is extraordinary how a sense of

> conflict has rapidly faded away. Not entirely perhaps, but generally speaking it has faded with remarkable rapidity. For that I think there are two causes. One certainly is the manner in which the whole struggle for freedom was conceived and carried out by Gandhiji . . . . . The other is the manner in which at the critical juncture the British Government and the British people handled the situation.
>
> People talk of a kind of axis that might continue between England and India. They think of it in legal and other terms. I do not know at this moment exactly what shape it might take. All I can say is this : first of all I should like the closest co-operation between the people of India and the people of Britain. But whatever form it might take, it is obvious that any foundation for co-operation will be a sense of comradeship, fellow-feeling, and the absence of conflict between them.

What the Prime Minister meant, I gather, was that the precise form which co-operation between India and Britain may take is not of primary importance so long as there is dependable co-operation. Perhaps De Maistre and Mr. De Valera were right in thinking that there are relationships which it is wiser to leave undefined. The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. One conclusion, at least, seems to emerge. If India is to be, as the framers of her new Constitution have proclaimed, a democratic republic as well as a sovereign republic, her democracy must go hand in hand with her sovereignty. In the conflict of ideologies which is tormenting the world today, India cannot be neutral if she is to be true to herself. She must take her stand with the democracies—with the British Commonwealth and the United States. Those who are not for democracy are against it.

Round The World

Elections in Japan—

Two years old Diet in Japan was recently dissolved and general elections were held on the 23rd of January last. This was done to do away with the unstable position which the Yoshida Cabinet had in Japan. It was expected that appeal to the electorate would result in the return of a solid majority for the Government. This expectation has not been belied by the elections. Democratic Liberals who constitute the main following of Mr. Joshida have secured an absolute majority. Their strength is 262 in a house of 466. Democratic Liberals are, it should be remembered, the right-wing conservatives in Japanese public life. Next in importance in party strength in the new Diet are the Democrats who without being called Liberals are a shade more liberal than Yoshida's immediate followers. It is likely that these Democrats also will give support to the Government. It is on this account confidently expected that the new Cabinet which may be formed will become stable and will find it possible to apply its mind to the manifold problems of the country without being pre-occupied with its parliamentary position. But there is one disqueting sign on the wall which both the Government and the Supreme Commander will do well to read with care. The Communists have increased considerably their strength in the Diet and still more in the electorate. It is true that in the lower house of the parliament out of 466 members only 35 will be affiliated to this party. But they represent 3 million 5 hundred thousand voters who have supported them. Besides in Tokyo itself as many as 7 members have been returned on Communist ticket. The Farm Labour Party which usually works in conjunction with the Communist Party has also succeeded in returning seven members. This shows that there is considerable discontent in the country—discontent both with the administration of the conservative Premier and with the policy pursued by the allied Commander. The National Public Service Law which made strikes illegal and made impossible collective bargaining in certain fields has given cause for dissatisfaction.

White Autralia—

We commented a few months ago on the policy of maintaining the white character of Australia, to which even its Labour Ministry is committed. Recently the implication of this policy was brought out into relief in a poignant manner. Reuter reported that the Indonesian wife of an Australian citizen was ordered to be expelled from that country along with her children of a former marriage. In most countries a foreign woman

secures the nationality and citizenship rights of her husband. If we know aright, a white foreign woman married to an Australian citizen also becomes under the law of that country automatically an Australian citizen. But in the case noted above the Imigration Minister, Mr. Arthur Calwell, pointed out that the marriage of an Asian woman to an Australian citizen "gave her no rights to remain in Australia." This amounts to a declaration that the marriage of an Australian to a non-white woman is to all intents and purposes invalid. This is racialism in excelsis. He also added that "an awful tragedy awaits Australia if her economic standards are not protected by laws which have stood the test of nearly a century." This is taking too short-sighted a view of things. Eagerness to maintain economic standard should not be allowed to cover acts of racial arrogance which the exclusion of a lawfully married wife of a full-fledged citizen happens to illustrate. Australia is a vast country but its population is only seven million. Sedulous attempts are now being made to bring in at least three or four million more from Europe so that the Government may not be open to the charge that a vast continent is being monopolised by a handful of men. It should, however, be remembered that Australia may accommodate comfortably at least three times the present population. Importation of thirty or forty lakhs of people will not consequently make much of a difference. It is doubtful if it will be possible to import within a short time even this three or four million. Meanwhile neighbouring countries which are today feeling the pressure of population will not long remain indifferent to the vast spaces of the island continent. Days of monopoly are over. People should read on the walls the signs of the times. Defeat of Japan should not be taken as the final disposal of the Asian demand for the open door in Australia.

Academie Francaise—

The French Academy is a unique institution. It has hardly a parallel elsewhere in the world. Chartered by Cardinal Richelieu in 1635, this body has set the standard of French writing and scholarship for three hundred years and more. Lay readers of this journal may be curious to know something of the origin and development of the Academy. We are quoting below on this account a few passages of an article in the *Contemporary Review* of December, 1948.

". . . . in 1629 some private individuals living in different parts of Paris and finding it highly inconvenient in that great town to pay frequent and fruitless visits to one another, determined to meet on one day of the week at the house of one of their number—M. Conrart's—his being the most suitable, in the heart of the city, all the others living at almost equal distances from it. There they conversed familiarly about public affairs, the latest news and literature. If one of the company had written a book

he showed it willingly to all the others and they freely gave their opinions on it. They went on in this way for several years in all the innocence and all the liberty of an age of gold, without publicity or pomp and without any laws but those of friendship. Occasionally a rare visitor was allowed. Boisrobert, Cardinal Richelieu's factotum and jester, obtained permission to be present." He was impressed by the manner and method of discussion followed in this gathering " and he acquainted the Cardinal with what he had experienced in this little assembly, and the Cardinal whose mind was naturally turned to great things and who loved beyond everything the French language, asked whether these gentlemen would not be willing to become an incorporated body and meet regularly and under public authority."

" The Cardinal's offer was at first received with perturbation by Conrart's friendly circle but the view of the leading spirit, Chapelain, that they had no choice in the matter, was accepted and it was agreed very humbly to thank the Cardinal for honour he did them and to assure him that, though they never looked so high and were much surprised by the intention of his Eminence, they were all resolved to comply with his wishes. Statutes for the newly enlarged official body were drawn up, a director, chancellor and a permanent Secretary appointed, the name 'Academie Française' was adoped and, early in 1635, the Royal Seal was affixed to their Letters Patent."

Teachers' Salaries—

We congratulate the Government of Bihar on the prudence it has shown in meeting at least half way the demands of the school teachers for higher scales of salary. The Government has also given some desirable relief to the teachers of non-Government colleges. The latter were so far on the grade of Rs. 150 rising to Rs. 375. Henceforward they will start at Rs. 200 and rise to Rs. 500. During British days teachers were the most neglected members of the public services. Their interests always went by default. The policy of the Government which made such neglect possible was intelligible. The State was a police state. Its main function was to keep order. The spread of education, progress of higher studies, and augmentation of the cultural level of the country would have made for speedier withdrawal of foreign rule. In view of this it was but natural that teachers would be kept down by low salary and other hard conditions of service. India, however, achieved independence eighteen months ago. With the transference of power education ought to have been the first charge on the Government revenues. Conditions of service of the teachers ought to have been equalised with those prevailing in other services. Education, it should not be forgotten, is the heart of the modern state. No efforts are too great to keep it sound. We believe other provincial Govern-

ments will emulate the example of Bihar and proceed in no time to bring cheer to the homes of teachers.

Demand of the Indian Union Muslim League—

While most Muslims very wisely decided after the partition of the country to disband the Muslim League, few of them have shown determination to continue the organisation. Such efforts should not have been encouraged even by silence and indifference. It should be remembered that this organisation has been responsible not only for the partition of the country but also for all kinds of bloody disturbances which preceded that partition. It ought to have been liquidated on this account without ceremony as an anti-social force. Whether other communal organisations should be encouraged or discouraged is a different matter. The Government may determine its policy in that regard in the light of public opinion. But the future of the Muslim League in any shape or form has nothing to do with the continuance or otherwise of any of those organisations. The latter have not been proved to be anti-state. But the Muslim League in its origin and history has been basically inconsistent with the ideal of state which the vast majority of the people happen to cherish. Nor is there any indication that the Indian Union Muslim League deviates in any essential from the policy evolved by the old Indian Muslim League. In fact recently it adopted a resolution that the Muslims in the legislatures should be represented under the new constitution through separate electorates of their own. In other words the game which was started in 1906 and which ended so disastrously in 1946-47 is to be re-started in the residuary India. If the Muslims were ever an entity by themselves, the theory has fallen to the ground after the partition. Any attempt to revive it should be regarded as disruptive and dealt with accordingly. Freedom of speech and association is nowhere in the world absolute. It is always subject to the higher interests of the state. A state, however secular, can allow an association with disruptive policies and tendencies to continue only to its own detriment. Let Government take time by the forelock.

Future Indian Army—

It was announced recently that the Indian army, recruitment to which had hitherto been made on the basis of the artificial distinction between martial and non-martial races, would be henceforward thrown open to all Indian citizens. This is an announcement on which the Government of India should be warmly congratulated. The distinction was created and maintained by the British Government in its own interests. The chief object was to keep out from the army those elements of population which had become politically assertive and imbues ith nationalist ideals.

Otherwise the distinction had no legs to stand upon. On numerous occasions protests had been made against this unjust arrangement. But they proved unavailing in every case. Now that the British have quit and upon all citizens of the country the burden of maintaining its freedom has fallen it is in the fitness of things that the Government of India has removed the disability of several important groups of people in regard to their joining the armed forces. It is our hope that West Bengal will take full advantage of the opportunity thus offered. The people of this province were among those who were practically excluded from the rank and file of the army. Those of this province who were recruited either as officers of the army or to the air force have given an excellent account of themselves and falsified (if that was ever necessary) the theory that Indian population could be divided into two groups—those who were martial and those who were not. We have no doubt at all that youngmen of this province will not only join in large number the rank and file of the armed forces but will give in this capacity also an equally creditable account of their intelligence, valour and sense of discipline. In these days of mechanisation showy physique is no longer an essential in the army. Habits of steady and sustained work and capacity for enduring hardship will, however, always remain virtues to be prized in a military organisation. Youngmen of West Bengal have in an adequate degree these qualities. Besides, good elementary education combined with natural intelligence will make them an asset to the present army.

Abolition of the distinction between martial and non-martial races will help in strengthening the national basis of the army. Every soldier, private and officer, must regard himself as nothing but an Indian. In this connection the exhortation which General Cariappa has made to the officers and men at Madras has come in good time. He has asked them to eschew all kinds of communalism. He might have added that they should avoid all kinds of localism as well. Soldiers are an instrument of the Government for defending the country and maintaining its peace and order. They are neither Muslims nor Sikhs, neither Mahrattas nor Bengalees. So long as they are in the army, they are only members of the armed forces of the country. To foster this spirit of unity it is essential that at the mess and in the excercise ground they should be allowed to speak only one language so that no linguistic differences may magnify the cleavage among them. It is our hope that the attention of the army headquarters will be drawn to this matter.

Linguistic Provinces—

The principle of having linguistic provinces is now in the melting pot. The Dhar Committee which was appointed a few months ago to go into the matter and suggest whether some of the existing multilingual provinces as Madras, Bombay and C.P. should be re-formed into linguistic

units, set its face definitely and unequivocally against such redistribution. It thought that there were several grave objections to it. It would duplicate expenditure in many instances. It would create the problem of affiliation of such cities as Madras and Bombay which are claimed by more than one linguistic element. It would lastly strengthen linguistic separatism in the country. It was on this last objection that the Commission placed special emphasis. Nothing should be done at the present time to give stimulus to fissiparous forces and create a rival to the infant Indian nationalism. This report of the Dhar Commission was certainly too bitter a pill to be swallowed by the Congress President who has been for years the chief pillar of the demand for a separate province for Andhra. He had promised this boon to his people on all occasions. He had consequently to re-emphasise the demand even after the release of the Dhar report. This stand by the Congress President made it necessary for the question to be reopened. An *ad hoc* Committee consisting of three high lights of the Congress and the Government, *e.g.*, Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and the Congress President himself has been set up to go into the subject afresh and make recommendations which are likely to be published in the current month. The issue of redistribution of provincial boundaries in Bihar, Bengal and Assam was excluded from the purview of the Dhar Committee and it made consequently no specific references to the demand by the people of West Bengal for incorporation in this province of those areas in Bihar which are predominantly Bengali-speaking. Nor do we know if this issue will come in for consideration by Pandit Nehru and his colleagues of the new Committee. Meanwhile, however, the matter has assumed an ugly shape. While the demand for the return of these areas to West Bengal has grown in intensity in this province, the Government of Bihar has decided to substiute Hindi for Bengali as the medium of instruction in the district of Manbhum. A problem cannot always be solved only by ignoring it. It is time for the Government of India to pay attention to what is happening in these districts.

Reviews and Notices of Books

Eastern Clay. By Louis Gracias. Published by the author from 2-1, Sudder Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 10-8.

This volume of fourteen Indian stories is its author's second book of Indian tales. The theme is usually love and the manner romantic. The naivety which often appears in descriptions and dialogues is appropriate to a rural setting which we find in the majority of the tales. In the others where the scene is laid in cities the tone is somewhat realistic and in at least one it tends to be even pornographic. Although the writer does not confine himself to any particular community nor to any particular region, his preference seems to be for Goa and for the Roman Catholic religion. Story-telling is a difficult art and it becomes more so when a foreign medium is used. The author writes a curious type of English which reminds us of George Santayana's advice when he sent him a copy of his earlier publication ("wild winds") : "And why do you write in English ? I should think such tales for simple souls about simple souls would be more touching in some native language, where the words and sentiments go together". The best story in the present volume is "The verdict" in which some light is thrown upon the deranged state of mind of a woman at a mental hospital.

The book is well printed and well got up and has an attractive jacket with a pleasant design on it.

S. C. Sen.

Bahirer Bisve Rabindranath. By Sisir Sengupta and Jayanta Bhaduri. Desabandhu Book Depot, 54-A Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

The book gives some facts relating to the award of the Nobel Prize to Tagore, the press reaction to this award in Europe and America and some selected criticism of the poet's work, published in various journals in the two continents. The criticisms, chosen at random from daily papers, are offered in Bengali translation. Their value, however, suffers from the fact that a daily paper is hardly fitted to undertake serious criticism. The point seems to have been overlooked in the emphasis laid upon these ephemeral opinions.

The appendices contain useful information about the works of the poet translated into various foreign languages. The list is not exhaustive and serious omissions are noticeable but it nevertheless gives certain particulars that are not generally known and will be helpful to students of Tagore. The book would have gained in importance if instead of citing newspapers

to indicate the sort of reception Tagore enjoyed in the West, it had tried to discuss the serious appraisement of his work by competent European and American critics to whom this book hardly makes any reference.

In a work of literary criticism the style is an important element and precision and clarity are virtues that are specially desirable but the book under review is deficient in these qualites. The authors do not seem to have taken any trouble to make the language clear and expressive. Notwithstanding these defects the book is interesting within its limits.

S. C. Sen.

The Essential Unity of All Religions. By Dr. Bhagwan Das. Published by Ananda Publishing, Benares. Price Rs. 7-8-0, Shillings 15, Dollars 3.

Dr. Bhagwan Das's book brings into public view his sincere desire to find out a possible solution in present day religious tangles, responsible to a great extent for the disintegration of our social fabric.

Since the dawn of civilisation, man has been making serious attempts to know the Unknown. It would not be correct to say that all these attempts have ended in failure, keeping him ignorant as he was when civilisation was in its infancy.

Dr. Bhagwan Das has very successfully established his thesis that there is a running unity in the midst of a multitude of disunities; if any one can reach the top, he will cease to have partiality for any one path for diverse as they were, all unite in the ultimate Unknown. It is dogmatism or orthodoxy which wages war; real religion is calm and serene, there is no difference or disunity.

The book will be of immense service to our public men and journalists who would do well to propagate the findings contained in it so as to bring the mass mind in contact with real truth. There is no copyright in the book. Any one, any where in the world, is free to make use of the subject matter without any restriction.

J. N. Mittra.

India's Population, Fact and Policy. By S. Chandrashekhar with an introduction by Warren S. Thompson. Published by John Day and Company. New York. Price Dollers-2.

With the achievement of independence, what concerns us most is the adequate supply of food to our people who, for generations, have lived below the subsistence level even to maintain which meagre standard is taxing the ability of our administrators. In the 16th century, Indian population was only 100 million. The introduction of peace and security had the effect of whipping it up at the rate of 5 million a year. In 1931, Indian population reached its peak when it became 350 million. Even the second World War could not retard the number which increased to 389 million in 1941. The author proves conclusively that this increase is based on the

exploitation of the many by the few rich numbering not more than five per cent of the whole population. This alarming disparity in the earning power of the nation, the author attributes to the system of bad distribution, the industry of the country being mainly agriculture under a defective system of tenancy legislation financed by unscrupulous moneylenders. He advocates their elimination without any scruple. The book will be a storehouse of information for all who seek a solution of the twin problems of unemployment and mass hunger.

H. C. Mookerjee

Socialism Over Sixty Years.—By Fenner Brockway, Published by George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

Mr. Fenner Brockway paints his hero, Fred Jowett of Broadway, on the background of the rise, growth and spread of English socialism, which today occupies the top position in the country's administration. The reader will find the book extremely interesting as a history of English socialism in the from of the biography of a man who contributed substantially towards its development.

M. B. B.

So Many Hungers. By Bhabani Bhattacharya. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Pp. 283. Price Rs. 7-8.

"In So Many Hungers" Bhabani Battacharya has attempted to do for India what Pearl Buck did for China in her novels "Dragon Seed" and "The Good Earth". This book describes the lives of Indian peasants, the backbone of an agricultural nation. Against the grim background of World War II, we are shown the happiness of an average rural family till famine stalks Bengal. As we read on Mother, Kajoli and Onu grow so vital and endearing that the reader suffers many a pang at their terrible misfortunes.

True to the Congress Flag, the Kisan community of Baruni, a village in Bengal, offers satyagraha in 1942. The village patriarch, Devesh, the mendicant songster and his elder son Kanu are rushed to jail with other fathers, husbands and brothers. Mother, her daughter Kajoli, and Onu, the mischievous urchin, cheerfully keep home in their absence. Father sends a son-in-law Kishore from jail and all seems bliss.

Then follows disaster after disaster. "Gore-ment, the ma-baap" of villagers, imposes collective fines, neglects rationing, and unwittingly allows big business to corner the rice-crop. Homeless kisans are swept to the city. Even those, who own land, follow. The scramble for roots and figs, the fights with jackals, the grim presence of vultures along the highway are described with stark realism. An Indian soldier attempts to assault Kajoli and her child is born dead on the roadside. A military vehicle conveys Mother, Kajoli and Onu to Calcutta.

Their plight grows worse; they join the other vagrants who scrounge in dust-bins by day and sleep amidst filth and lice in the alleys, by night. Kajoli with her lovely face is, in addition, the target of those who keep brothels—"jackal women."

The message of faith that emerges from this dark picture is both surprising and uplifling. Even in the darkest abyss, the finger of hope points upward.

Kajoli, Mother and Onu will live in the gallery of famous characters. Rahoul, Monju and Kunal are mere sketches that are not convincing. Samerendu on the other hand, with his weakness for titles, is an amusing true-to-life portrait. The writer shows his gift for description everywhere from the pictures of Clive Street and the Great Eastern Hotel to the soul-searing account of a mother about to bury her child alive because she cannot bear to see it hungry.

Linked with the history of the peasants is that of an urban family the Basus-grand children of Devesh but they do not count. It is Kajoli who makes the book even as Jade dominates "Dragon Seed." It is only in Chapter III that the book really begins.

"So Many Hungers" deals not only with the hunger for food, but the hunger for political freedom and the hunger for domestic affection. It will rank as one of the finest pieces of creative writing India has produced. Bengal has been interpreted with the loving intimacy of which only a Bengali is capable.

Y. MATHIAS.

Annexation of Burma. By Prof. A. C. Banerji, M. A., P. R. S., Ph. D. Published by A. Mukherjee & Brothers, 2, College Square, Calcutta., Pp. 331, Price Rs. 7/-.

After a preliminary survey of the history of Burma before the establishment of contact with the British, the author gives a history of the gradual process of the absorption of this part of Asia into the British Empire supplying detailed information not ordinaily known to the average student of history.

In addition to old and modern sources, Dr. Banerji has utilised published and unpublished documents preserved in the National Archives of India.

While it is probable that this book will not be popularly read, it has satisfied a distinct need for an authoritative and documented account of the conquest of Burma.

We congratulate the author on the pains taken and the care exercised in the selection and interpretation of his material.

H. C. MOOKERJEE.

Ourselves

Lectures by Tagore Professor of Law

Mr. Balailal Pal, Tagore Law Professor for 1942, delivered last month his Lectures on the Law of Insurance with special reference to India.

* * *

University Professorship of Economics

The University Professorship of Economics was lying vacant for sometime past, the permanent incumbent, Dr. J. P. Niyogi, being included in the West Bengal Public Service Commission. The vacancy has now been filled by the appointment of Mr. D. Ghosh to the Chair. Professor Ghosh had his training in Calcutta and Cambridge and was attached to the University of Bombay for a number of years. Immediately before his joining this University he was serving the Trusteeship Council of the U.N.O. as Economic Adviser at New York.

* * *

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar

Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar who has been associated with the Department of Economics since 1926 and who acted as the head of the Department during the last one year has left for the United States as visiting Professor to a number of American Universities.

* * *

An interesting international debate in Senate House

A British student debating team consisting of Messrs. G. C. Jackson of Oxford, A. McLellan of Glasgow and S. R. Jenkins of Cardiff is on tour in this country. On the 19th of February the team visited Calcutta and participated in a debate in the Senate House. On behalf of the University of Calcutta those students who joined the debate were Mr. Shibendu Ghose, Mr. Aurobindo Bose and Mr. Viswanatham. The motion was that in the opinion of the house world peace could be maintained by U. N. O. The Vice-Chancellor,

Professor P. N. Banerjee, presided and Mr. Justice N. C. Chatterjee, Mr. T. C. Goswami and Mr. N. C. Bhattacharya acted as judges. Mr. Jackson and Mr. Ghose were judged the best speakers of the evening and awarded the Vice-Chancellor's medals.

* * *

Mr. S. P. Sen

Mr. S. P. Sen, B.A. (Lond.), Lecturer in History, has been appointed a Corresponding Member of the "L'Ecole Française L'Extrêmd Orient" (Hanoi) by the Government of Indo-China. It should be stated that Mr. Sen recently wrote a book entitled 'French in India.'

* * *

Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee

Dr. Susilkumar Mukherjee, D.Sc., Lecturer in the Department of Applied Chemistry, has been given study leave for two years for further studies abroad. Dr. Mukherjee has also been awarded Guruprasanna Ghosh Scholarship, 1948.

* * *

An autographed photograph of H.E. The Governor-General

It should be recalled that on the 30th November last, the University conferred upon His Excellency the Governor-General the degree of Doctor of Law *Honoris Causa*. As a memento of that occasion His Excellency has sent an autographed photograph of himself. The speeches which were delivered, in the Special Convocation held in connection with the conferment of this degree, by the Hon'ble Dr. B. C. Roy, Premier, West Bengal, and His Excellency the Chancellor are being published in this issue. The speech of His Excellency the Governor-General, the official copy of which arrived too late for this number, will appear in the April issue.

Official Notifications, University of Calcutta

Orders by the Vice-Chancellor and Syndicate of the University of Calcutta

Memo. No. C/4355/Affl.

It is notified for general information that under Section 21 of the Indian Universities Act (VIII of 1904), the Governor is pleased to order that, with effect from the commencement of the session 1948-49, the Tamralipta Mahavidyalaya (Tamluk) shall be affiliated to the Calcutta University in English, Bengali (Vernacular), Bengali (2nd Language), Sanskrit, History, Logic, Civics, Commercial Geography and Commercial Arithmetic and Elements of Book-keeping to the I.A. standard with permission to present candidates for the examination in the subjects from 1950 and not earlier.

SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Notification No. Misc. R.4.

It is hereby notified for general information that the following changes proposed in the Regulations relating to the higher research degrees have been sanctioned by Government:—

1. The words 'Rs. 200' be replaced by the words "Rs. 300" in.

Chapter	XLIII (Doctor of Law), Section 5.
,,	XLVII (Doctor of Medicine), Section 3.
,,	XLVIII (Master of Surgery), Section 3.
,,	XLIX (Master of Obstetrics,) Section 3.
,,	L-A. (Doctor of Science, Public Health) Section 4.
,,	LIII (Doctor of Science, Engineering), Section 5.

2. The words 'two hundred rupees' be replaced by the words 'three hundred rupees' in—

Chapter	XLVII (Doctor of Medicine), Section 4.
,,	XLVIII (Master of Surgery), Section 4.
,,	XLIX (Master of Obstetrics), Section 4.
,,	L-A (Doctor of Science, Public Health), Section 5.

The changes will be given effect to from 1st November, 1948.

Senate House:
The 6th November, 1948.

SATISCHANDRA GHOSH,
Registrar (Offg.).

Extract from the Minutes of the Syndicate, dated 23rd December, 1948.

"Read a joint report from Mr. Rajsekhar Bose, M. A. and Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.Lit., F.R.A.S.B. on the Oral examination held by them of Mr Bijanbihari Bhattacharya, M.A. for his admission to the D. Phil. (Arts) degree.

Note.—The title of the thesis submitted by the candidate for admission to the D. Phil. degree was Trailokyanath Mukhopadhyay and his place in Bengali Literature which was adjudicated and commended by Mr. Atulchandra Gupta, M.A. and the two Examiners who conducted the Oral emamination.

Resolved—That the report be adopted and the candidate be admitted to the D. Phil. (Arts) degree and that the name of the candidate together with the title of his thesis be notified in the Calcutta Review."

A. P. DASGUPTA
Controller (Offg.)

NOTICE

The undermentioned candidate whose thesis was commended by the Board of Examiners and who was admitted to the Examination for the D. Phil. degree (Arts) having passed at the *viva voce* examination is admitted to the D. Phil. degree. The title of the thesis is stated against his name.

Bijanbihari Bhattacharyya, M.A.—" Rasa Sahityik Trailokyanath O Bangla Sahitye Tahar Sthan "

Senate House:
The 23rd December ,1948.

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

The undermentioned candidate whose thesis was commended by the Board oi Examiners and who was admitted to the examination for the D. Phil. degree (Science) having passed at the *viva voce* examination is admitted to the D. Phil. degree. The title of the thesis is stated against his name.

Satindrajiban Dasgupta, M.Sc.—"Studies in the Acridine Series".

Senate House,
The 11th February, 1949

A. P. DASGUPTA,
Controller of Examinations (Offg.).

VINCENT MASSEY SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1948-49; 1949-50.
ANNOUNCEMENT

1. Applications Invited.

Applications are now invited for the Vincent Massey Scholarship for 1948-49 and 1949-50.

2. Nature of the Scholarship.

This Scholarship has been made possible by the generosity of Mr. Vincent Massey of Canada as a token of good-will towards India and Pakistan. The Scholarship is of the value of $2,000 (inclusive of all expenses) and is tenable for one year at the University of Toronto for post-graduate work (ordinarily Master's degree). In addition to the value of the Scholarship, the University of Toronto has agreed to remit the regular tuition fees in the case of this Scholarship. This concession will not apply to laboratory fees for sciences.

3. The Award of Scholarship.

The Scholarship is to be awarded by the President of the Council of Y.M.C.A.'s of India, Pakistan, Burma & Ceylon on the recommendation of a Committee of Selection. The Selection Committee consists of four members, namely, the Chairman of the Christian Higher Education Committee of the Christian Council of India, Pakistan & Burma, a representative of the Education Department of the Government of Pakistan and the General Secretary of the Council of Y.M C.A 's who will also be the *ex-officio* Secretary of the Committee. In case of a tie the President of the Y.M.C.A., who makes the award, will decide the issue.

4. Qualifications of the Applicants.

The Scholarship is open to all men candidates belonging to India and Pakistan without any reference to religion, caste or creed.

The applicants should be holders of a First Class M.A., M.Sc., or an Honours degree.

Applicants holding Medical and Theologic degrees are also eligible.
Women candidates are not eligible for the Scholarship.

5. Subjects available at the University of Toronto.

Advanced courses of instruction and facilities for research are offered to poor graduate students in the following subjects :—

Anatomy
Anthropology
Applied Mathematics
Archaeology
Astronomy
Biochemistry
Botany
Business Administration
Chemical Engineering & Applied Chemistry
Chemistry
Chinese Studies
Civil Engineering
Classics
Educational Theory
Electrical Engineering
English
Epidemiology & Biometrics
Fine Arts
Food Chemistry
Geography
Geology & Paleontology
Geonanic Languages & Literature
History
Household Science
Hygiene & Preventive
Medicine
Law
Mathematics
Mineralogy
Mechanical Engineering
Pathological Chemistry
Pathology & Bacteriology
Pharmacology
Philosophy
Physics
Physiology
Physiological
Hygiene
Political Science & Economics
Preventive Dentistry
Psychiatry
Psychology
Public Administration
Roman Languages
Semetics
Sociology
Zoology

6. When and to whom to apply.

The applications for the Scholarship should reach the undersigned not later than the 15th March, 1949 on the prescribed form in triplicate, which can be had for four annas from the undersigned. The copies of the testimonials must be submitted on papers specially provided with the applications. Applications should be addressed to the undersigned by designation and not by name.

T.D. SANTWAN,
Hony. Secretary,
Vincent Massey Scholarship Selection Committee,
5, Russell Street, Calcutta 16.

15th Decr. 1948.